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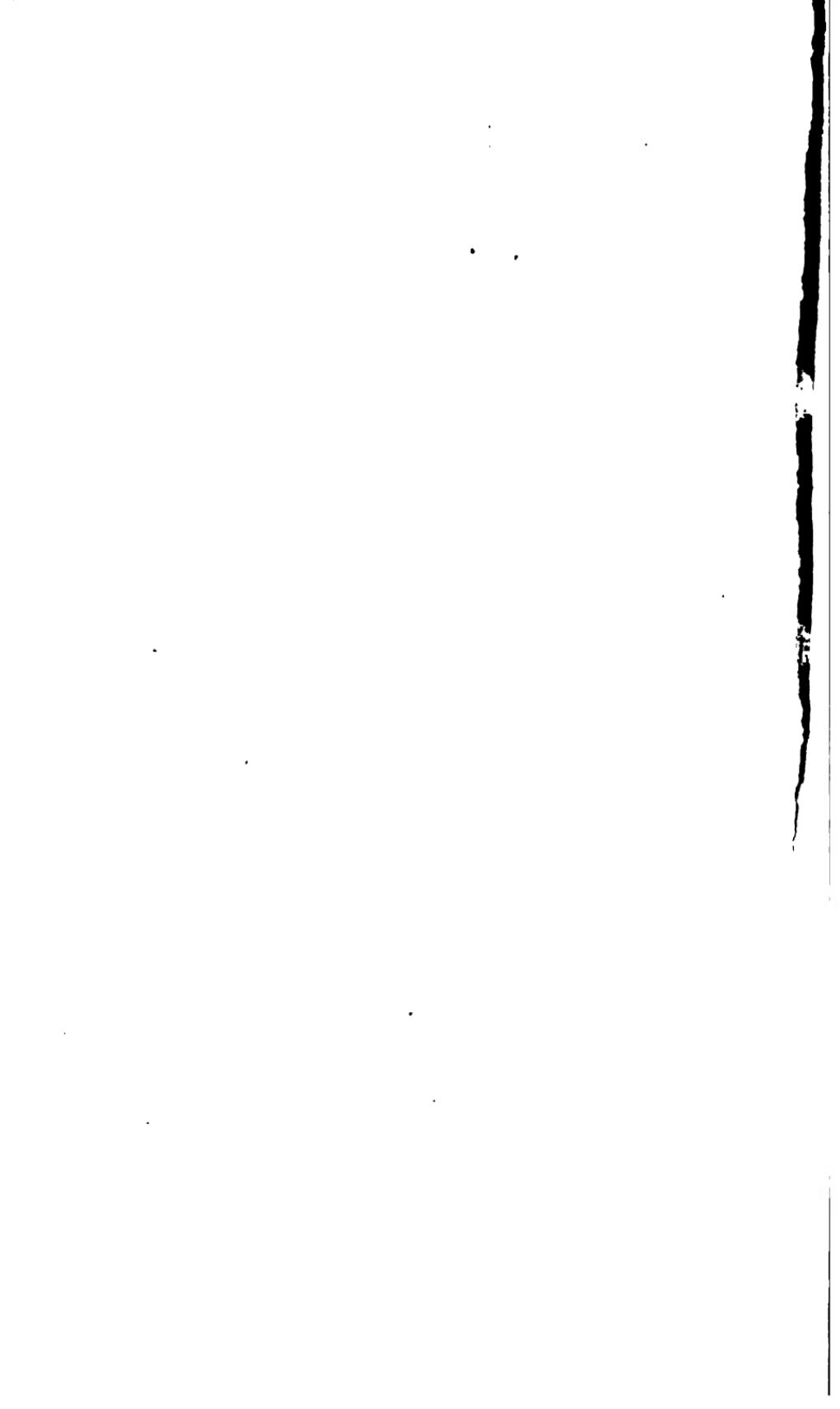
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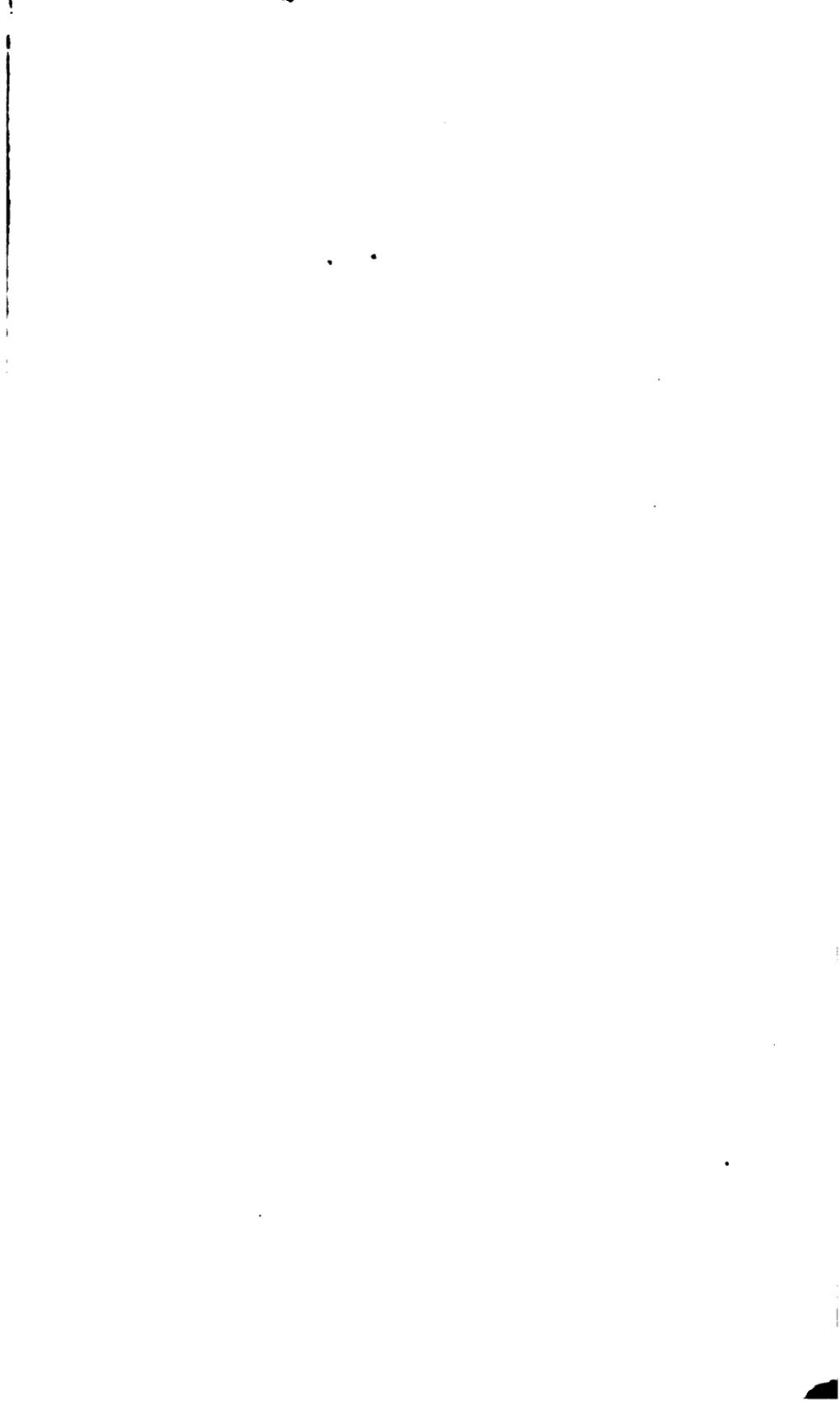
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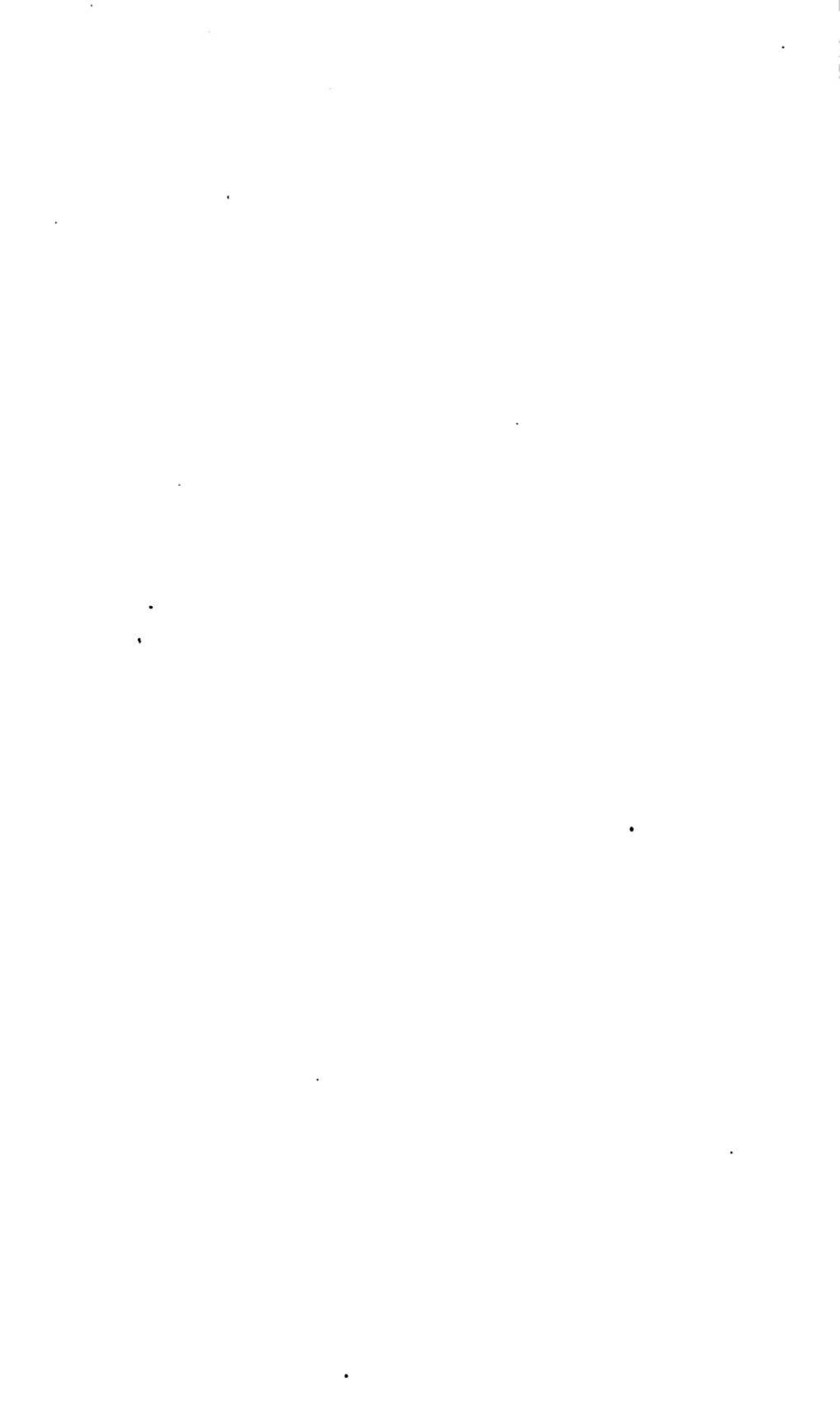


George Bancroft

Fraudel
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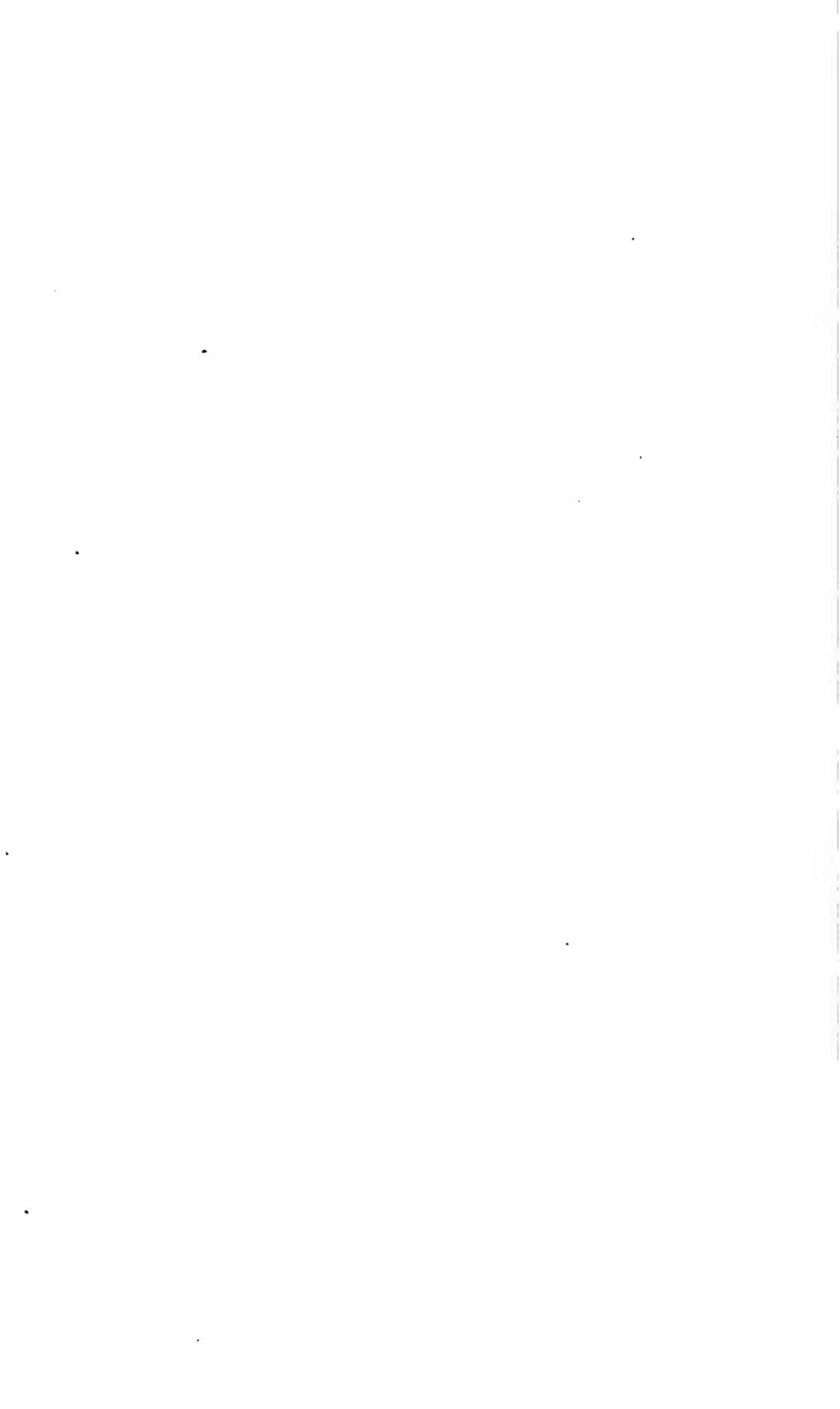
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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM THE FALL OF WOLSEY TO THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH.

VOLUME VI.



HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE FALL OF WOLSEY

TO

THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH.

BY

JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD.



VOLUME VI.

LONDON:

JOHN W. PARKER AND SON, WEST STRAND.

1860.

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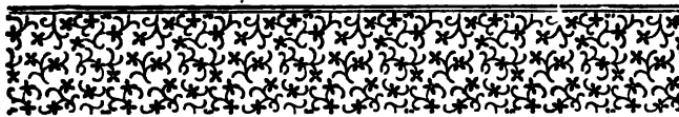
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ERRATA—VOL. VI.

- Page 60, line 7, *for ‘retire,’ read ‘return.’*
,, 133, line 23, *for ‘legacy,’ read ‘legation.’*
,, 253, line 18, *for ‘wardens,’ read ‘warders.’*
,, 254, line 17, *for ‘to meet,’ read ‘to be met.’*



CHAPTER XXX.

QUEEN JANE AND QUEEN MARY.

THE death of Edward VI. was ushered in with CH. 30.
signs and wonders, as if heaven and earth A.D. 1553.
were in labour with revolution. The hail lay July 7.
upon the grass in the London gardens as red as Signs in
blood. At Middleton Stony in Oxfordshire, earth and
anxious lips reported that a child had been born signs in
with one body, two heads, four feet and hands.* heaven be-
About the time when the letters patent were fore the
signed there came a storm such as no living death of
Englishman remembered. The summer evening Edward.
grew black as night. Cataracts of water flooded
the houses in the city and turned the streets into
rivers ; trees were torn up by the roots and
whirled through the air, and a more awful omen
—the forked lightning—struck down the steeple
of the church where the heretic service had been
read for the first time.†

The king died a little before nine o'clock on Thursday evening. His death was made a

* *Grey Friars' Chronicle :* MACHYN. *Death of Edward VI.*, printed at Venice, 1558. A copy of

† BAOARDO's *History of the Revolution in England on the* [this rare book is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.]

CH. 30. secret ; but in the same hour a courier was galloping through the twilight to Hunsdon to bid Mary mount and fly. Her plans had been for some days prepared. She had been directed to remain quiet, but to hold herself ready to be up and away at a moment's warning. The lords who were to close her in would not be at their posts, and for a few hours the roads would be open. The Howards were looking for her in Norfolk ; and thither she was to ride at her best speed, proclaiming her accession as she went along, and sending out her letters calling loyal Englishmen to rise in her defence.

Who escapes into Norfolk.

So Mary's secret friends had instructed her to act, as her one chance. Mary, who, like all the Tudors, was most herself in the moments of greatest danger, followed a counsel boldly which agreed with her own opinion ; and when Lord Robert Dudley came in the morning with a company of horse to look for her, she was far away. Relays of horses along the road, and such other precautions as could be taken without exciting suspicion, had doubtless not been overlooked.

Arrival and advice of Renard, ambassador from Charles V.

Far different advice had been sent to her by the new ambassadors of the Emperor. Scheyfne, who understood England and English habits, and who was sanguine of her success, had agreed to a course which had probably been arranged in concert with him ; but on the 6th, the day of Edward's death, Renard and M. de Courieres, arrived from Brussels. To Renard, accustomed to countries where governments were everything

A.D. 1553.
July 7.
A courier carries the news to Mary,

and people nothing, for a single woman to proclaim herself queen in the face of those who had the armed force of the kingdom in their hands, appeared like madness. Little confidence could be placed in her supposed friends, since they had wanted resolution to refuse their signatures to the instrument of her deposition. The Emperor could not move; although he might wish well to her cause, the alliance of England was of more importance to him, and he would not compromise himself with the faction whose success, notwithstanding Scheyfne's assurance, he looked upon as certain. Renard, therefore, lost not a moment in entreating the princess not to venture upon a course from which he anticipated inevitable ruin. If the nobility or the people desired to have her for queen, they would make her queen. There was no need for her to stir.*

CH. 30.
A.D. 1553.
July 7.

* Avant nostre arrivée elle mist en delibération avec aulums de ses plus confidens ce qu'elle debvroit faire, advenant la dicté morte; la quelle treuva, que incontinent la dicté morte decouverte, elle se debvoit publier royne par lettres et escriptz, et qu'en ce faisant, elle conciteroit plusieurs à se déclarer pour la maintenir telle, (et aussy que y a quelque observance par de çà que celuy ou celle qui est appellé à la couronne se doit incontinent tel déclarer et publier) pour la haine qu'ilz portent audict duc, le tenant tiran et indigne. S'estant absolument resolute qu'elle debvroit suivre ceste conclusion et conseil, autrement elle tom-

beroit en danger de sa personne plus grand qu'elle n'est et perdroit l'espoir de parvenir à la couronne. La quelle conclusion avons treuvé estrange, difficile, et dangereuse, pour les raisons soubzcriptes: pouraultant que toutes les forces du pays sont ès mains dudit duc: que la dicté dame n'a espoir de contraires forces ny d'assistance pour donner pied à ceux qu'ilz adhérer luy vouldroient; que se publiant royne, le roy et royne désignés par le dict testament (encores qu'il soit mal) prendroient fondement, de l'invaloir par la force et que n'aura moyen d'y résister si vostre majesté ne s'en empesche; ce que avons pesé pour

CH. 30. The remonstrance agreed fully with the opinion of Charles himself, who replied to Renard's account of his conduct with complete approval of it.*
 A.D. 1553.
 July 7.

The Emperor, afraid that Mary would fail, is afraid to repeat blunders of Reginald Pole, to distrust accounts of popular English sentiment; and he disbelieved entirely in the ability of Mary and her friends to cope with a conspiracy so broadly contrived, and supported by the countenance of France.† But Mary was probably gone from Hunsdon before advice arrived, to which she had been lost if she had listened. She had ridden night and day without a halt for a

les grands affaires et empesche-
mens qu'elle a contre les Fran-
çoy et en divers lieux, que ne
semble convenir que l'on concorde
en ceste saison les Angloys
contre vostre Majesté et ses pays.

Comme n'avons peu com-
muniquer verbalement avec elle,
l'avons advertie desdicts diffi-
cultés. . . Que si la noblesse ses
adhérens, ou le peuple la desirroit
et maintenoit pour royne, il le
pourroit démonstrer par l'effect;
que la question estoit grande
mésame entre barbares et gens de
telle condition que les Angloys. . .
Luy touchant ces difficultez pour
le respect de sa personne et pour
suyvre la fin de la dictie in-
struction qu'est de non troubler
le royaume au désavantage
de vostre Majesté.—The Ambas-
sadors in England to the Em-
peror: *Papiers d'Etat du Car-
dinal de Granvelle*, vol. iv. pp.
19, 20.

* Nous avons veu par vos
lectres l'advertissement qu'avez
donné soubz main à Madame la
princesse nostre cousine, affin
qu'elle ne se laisse for-compter
par ceulx qui lui persuadent
qu'elle se haste de se déclarer
pour royne, que nous a semblé
tres bien pour les raisons et
considerations touschez en vos-
dictes lectres.—The Emperor to
the Ambassadors: *Ibid.* pp. 24,
25.

† Ne se pouvoient faire
grand fondement sur la faveur
et affection que aucun particu-
liers et le peuple peuvent porter
à nostredictie cousine, ne fust
que y en y eust plus grant
nombre ou des principaux, n'es-
tant cela souffisant pour contre-
miner la negociation si fondée
et de si longue main que le dict
duc de Northumberland a empris
avec l'assistance que doubtez de
France.—*Ibid.* pp. 25, 26.

hundred miles to Keninghal, a castle of the CH. 30.
Howards on the Waveney river. There, in safe
hands, she would try the effect of an appeal to A.D. 1553.
her country. If the nation was mute, she would July 8.
then escape to the Low Countries.* Mary ap-
peals to the country.

In London, during Friday and Saturday, the death of Edward was known and unknown. Every one talked of it as certain. Yet the duke still spoke of him as living, and public business was carried on in his name. On the 8th the mayor and aldermen were sent for to Greenwich to sign the letters patent. From them the truth could not be concealed, but they were sworn to secrecy before they were allowed to leave the palace. The conspirators desired to have Mary under safe custody in the Tower before the mystery was made known to the world, and another difficulty was not yet got over.

The novelty of a female sovereign, and the supposed constitutional objection to it, were points in favour of the alteration which Northumberland was unwilling to relinquish. The 'device' had been changed in favour of Lady Jane; but Lady Jane was not to reign alone: Northumberland intended to hold the rein tight-grasped in his own hands, to keep the power in his own family, and to urge the sex of Mary as among the prominent occasions of her incapacity.†

* BACARDO.

† In the explanation given on the following Tuesday to the Emperor's ambassadors, Madame Marie was said — 'Nestre ca-
pable dudit royaume pour le

divorce fait entre le feu Roy Henry et la Royne Katherine ; se référant aux causes aians meu ledict divorce ; et mesme n'estre suffisante pour l'administration d'icelluy comme estant femme,

CH. 30. England was still to have a king, and that king was to be Guilford Dudley.

A.D. 1553.

July.
Guilford
Dudley to
be king.
Character,
age, and
accom-
plishments
of Lady
Jane Grey.

Jane Grey, eldest daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, was nearly of the same age with Edward. Edward had been precocious to a disease; the activity of his mind had been a symptom, or a cause, of the weakness of his body. Jane Grey's accomplishments were as extensive as Edward's; she had acquired a degree of learning rare in matured men, which she could use gracefully, and could permit to be seen by others without vanity or consciousness. Her character had developed with her talents. At fifteen she was learning Hebrew and could write Greek; at sixteen she corresponded with Bullinger in Latin at least equal to his own; but the matter of her letters is more striking than the language, and speaks more for her than the most elaborate panegyrics of admiring courtiers. She has left a portrait of herself drawn by her own hand; a portrait of piety, purity, and free, noble innocence, uncoloured, even to a fault, with the emotional weaknesses of humanity.* While the effects of the Reformation in England had been chiefly visible in the outward dominion of scoundrels and in the eclipse of the hereditary virtues

et pour la religion.—*Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Granvelle*, p. 28. Noailles was instructed to inform the King of France of the good affection of 'the new king' ('le nouveau Roy'). He had notice of the approaching coronation of 'the king'; and in the first communि-

cation of Edward's death to Hoby and Morryson in the Netherlands, a 'king,' and not a 'queen,' was described as on the throne in his place.

* Letters of Lady Jane Grey to Bullinger: *Epistolas Tigurinae*, pp. 3—7.

of the national character, Lady Jane Grey had CH. 30.
lived to show that the defect was not in the
Reformed faith, but in the absence of all faith,
—that the graces of a St. Elizabeth could be
rivalled by the pupil of Cranmer and Ridley.
The Catholic saint had no excellence of which
Jane Grey was without the promise; the distinc-
tion was in the freedom of the Protestant from
the hysterical ambition for an unearthly nature,
and in the presence, through a more intelligent
creed, of a vigorous and practical understanding.

When married to Guilford Dudley, Lady Jane After her
had entreated that, being herself so young, and marriage
her husband scarcely older, she might continue
to reside with her mother.* Lady Northum- she resides
at home
till the ap-
proach of
Edward's
death.
berland had consented; and the new-made bride
remained at home till a rumour went abroad that
Edward was on the point of death, when she was
told that she must remove to her father-in-law's
house, till 'God should call the king to his mercy';
her presence would then be required at the Tower,
the king having appointed her to be the heir to
the crown.

This was the first hint which she had received She learns
the fortune
intended
for her, but
she does
not believe
it.
of the fortune which was in store for her. She
believed it to be a jest, and took no notice of the
order to change her residence, till the Duchess of
Northumberland came herself to fetch her. A
violent scene ensued with Lady Suffolk. At last
the duchess brought in Guilford Dudley, who com-

* Baardo—who tells the story as it was told by Lady Jane
herself to Abbot Feckenham.

CH. 30. manded Lady Jane, on her allegiance as a wife, to return with him; and, 'not choosing to be disobedient to her husband,' she consented. The duchess carried her off, and kept her for three or four days a prisoner. Afterwards she was taken to a house of the duke's at Chelsea, where she remained till Sunday, the 9th of July, when a message was brought that she was wanted immediately at Sion House, to receive an order from the king.

A.D. 1553.
July 9.
Lady
Northum-
berland
takes her
from her
mother.

She went alone. There was no one at the palace when she arrived; but immediately after Northumberland came, attended by Pembroke, Northampton, Huntingdon, and Arundel. The Earl of Pembroke, as he approached, knelt to kiss her hand. Lady Northumberland and Lady Northampton entered, and the duke, as President of the Council, rose to speak.

Edward
dies, and
the council
receive her
as queen.

Northum-
berland
explaining
the grounds
on which
Mary and
Elizabeth
had been
set aside.

'The king,' he said, 'was no more. A godly life had been followed, as a consolation to their sorrows, by a godly end, and in leaving the world he had not forgotten his duty to his subjects. His Majesty had prayed on his death-bed that Almighty God would protect the realm from false opinions, and especially from his unworthy sister; he had reflected that both the Lady Mary and the Lady Elizabeth had been cut off by act of parliament from the succession as illegitimate;*' the Lady Mary had been disobedient to her father;

* La detta maesta haveva ben considerato un atto di Parlamento nel quale fu già deliberato che qualunque volesse riconoscere Maria overo Elizabetha Sorelle per heredi della corona fusse tenuto traditore. — BACARDO.

she had been again disobedient to her brother; CH. 30.
she was a capital and principal enemy of God's
word; and both she and her sister were bastards A.D. 1553.
born; King Henry did not intend that the
crown should be worn by either of them; King
Edward, therefore, had, before his death, be-
queathed it to his cousin the Lady Jane; and,
should the Lady Jane die without children, to her
younger sister; and he had entreated the council,
for their honours' sake and for the sake of the
realm, to see that his will was observed.'

Northumberland, as he concluded, dropt on
his knees; the four lords knelt with him, and,
doing homage to the Lady Jane as queen, they
swore that they would keep their faith or lose
their lives in her defence.

Lady Jane shook, covered her face with her hands, and fell fainting to the ground. Her first simple grief was for Edward's death; she felt it as the loss of a dearly loved brother. The weight of her own fortune was still more agitating; when she came to herself, she cried that it could not be; the crown was not for her, she could not bear it—she was not fit for it. Then, knowing nothing of the falsehoods which Northumberland had told her, she clasped her hands, and, in a revulsion of feeling, she prayed God that if the great place to which she was called was indeed justly hers, He would give her grace to govern for his service and for the welfare of his people.*

Lady Jane receives the information with infinite alarm.

* Mr. John Gough Nichols, the accomplished editor | of so many of the best publications of the Camden Society,

CH. 30.

A.D. 1553.

July 9.
The king's
death is
acknow-
ledged, and
the troops
are sworn
to Lady
Jane.

So passed Sunday, the 9th of July, at Sion House. In London, the hope of first securing Mary being disappointed, the king's death had been publicly acknowledged; circulars were sent out to the sheriffs, mayors, and magistrates in the usual style, announcing the accession of Queen Jane, and the troops were sworn man by man to the new sovereign. Sir William Petre and Sir John Cheke waited on the Emperor's ambassador to express a hope that the alteration in the succession would not affect the good understanding between the courts of England and Flanders. The preachers were set to work to pacify the citizens; and, if Scheyfne is to be believed, a blood cement was designed to strengthen the new throne; and Gardiner, the Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Courtenay,* were directed to prepare for death in three days.† But Northumberland would scarcely have risked an act of gratuitous tyranny. Norfolk, being under attainder, might have been put to death without violation of the *forms* of law, by warrant from the crown; but Gardiner was uncondemned, and Courtenay had never been accused of crime.

July 10.

The next day, Monday, the 10th of July, the

throws a doubt on the authenticity of this scene, being unable to find contemporary authority for it. It comes to us, through Bacardo, from Lady Jane herself.

* Edward Lord Courtenay was son of the executed Marquis of Exeter and great grandson of

Edward IV. He was thrown into the Tower with his father when a little boy, and in that confinement, in fifteen years, he had grown to manhood. Of him and his fortunes all that need be said will unfold itself.

† Scheyfne to Charles V.,
July 10 : *MS. Rolls House.*

royal barges came down the Thames from Rich- CH. 30.
mond; and at three o'clock in the afternoon A.D. 1553.
Lady Jane landed at the broad staircase at the July 10.
Tower, as queen, in undesired splendour. A Lady Jane
few scattered groups of spectators stood to watch is brought
the arrival; but it appeared, from their silence, in state to
that they had been brought together chiefly by the Tower.
curiosity. As the gates closed, the heralds-at-
arms, with a company of the archers of the guard,
rode into the city, and at the cross in Cheapside,
Paul's Cross, and Fleet-street they proclaimed She is pro-
'that the Lady Mary was unlawfully begotten,
and that the Lady Jane Grey was queen.' The claimed
ill-humour of London was no secret, and some queen in
demonstration had been looked for in Mary's London,
favour;* but here, again, there was only silence. amidst
The heralds cried 'God save the Queen!' The general
archers waved their caps and cheered, but the silence.
crowd looked on impassively. One youth only,
Gilbert Potter, whose name for those few days Gilbert
passed into Fame's trumpet, ventured to exclaim, Potter and
'The Lady Mary has the better title.' Gilbert's his master.
master, one 'Ninian Sanders,' denounced the boy
to the guard, and he was seized. Yet a mis-
fortune, thought to be providential, in a few
hours befel Ninian Sanders. Going home to
his house down the river, in the July evening, he
was overturned and drowned as he was shooting
London Bridge in his wherry; the boatmen,
who were the instruments of Providence, escaped.
Nor did the party in the Tower rest their first

* NOAILLES.

CH. 30.

A.D. 1553.
July 10.
Letters ar-
rive in
London
from Mary,
who has
proclaimed
her own
accession
in Norfolk.

night there with perfect satisfaction. In the evening messengers came in from the eastern counties with news of the Lady Mary, and with letters from herself. She had written to Renard and Scheyfne to tell them that she was in good hands, and for the moment was safe. She had proclaimed herself queen. She had sent addresses to the peers, commanding them on their allegiance to come to her; and she begged the ambassadors to tell her instantly whether she might look for assistance from Flanders; on the active support of the Emperor, so far as she could judge, the movements of her friends would depend.

The ambassadors sent a courier to Brussels for instructions; but, pending Charles's judgment to the contrary, they thought they had better leave Mary's appeal unanswered till they could see how events would turn. There was one rumour current indeed that she had from ten to fifteen thousand men with her; but this they could ill believe. For themselves, they expected every hour to hear that she had been taken by Lord Warwick and Lord Robert Dudley, who were gone in pursuit of her, and had been put to death.*

The Lords who were with the new queen were not so confident. They were in late consultation with the Duchess of Northumberland and the Duchess of Suffolk, when, after nightfall, a letter was brought in to them also from Mary. The Lords ordered the messenger

* Renard to Charles V.: *Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal Granvelle*, vol. iv.

into arrest. The seal of the packet was broken, CH. 30.
and the letter read aloud. It was dated the day
before, Sunday, July 9:—

‘My Lords,’ wrote Mary, ‘we greet you well,
and have received sure advertisement that our
deceased brother the king, our late Sovereign
Lord, is departed to God’s mercy; which news
how they be woeful to our heart He only know-
eth to whose will and pleasure we must and do
submit us and all our wills. But in this so
lamentable a case that is, to wit, now, after his
Majesty’s departure and death, concerning the
crown and governance of this realm of England,
that which hath been provided by act of parlia-
ment and the testament and last will of our
dearest father, you know—the realm and the
whole world knoweth. The rolls and records She claims
the crown
as her
right.
appear, by the authority of the king our said
father, and the king our said brother, and the
subjects of this realm; so that we verily trust
there is no true subject that can pretend to be
ignorant thereof; and of our part we have our-
selves caused, and as God shall aid and strengthen
us, shall cause, our right and title in this behalf
to be published and proclaimed accordingly.

‘And, albeit, in this so weighty a matter, it
seemeth strange that the dying of our said
brother upon Thursday at night last past, we
hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof;
yet we consider your wisdom and prudence to be
such, that having eftsoons amongst you debated,
pondered, and well-weighed the present case,
with our estate, with your own estate, the com-

A.D. 1553.
July 10.
She writes
to the
Lords.

CH. 30. monwealth, and all our honours, we shall and may conceive great hope and trust, with much assurance in your loyalty and service; and therefore, for the time, we interpret and take things not for the worst; and that ye yet will, like noblemen, work the best. Nevertheless, we are not ignorant of your consultation to undo the provisions made for our preferment, nor of the great banded provisions forcible whereunto ye If the coun-
cil will re-
turn to
their du-
ties she
will pardon
their con-
duct to her; be assembled and prepared, by whom and to what end God and you know; and nature can fear some evil. But be it that some consideration politic, or whatsoever thing else, hath moved you thereunto; yet doubt ye not, my Lords, but we can take all these your doings in gracious part, being also right ready to remit and also pardon the same, with that freely to eschew bloodshed and vengeance against all those that can or will intend the same; trusting also assuredly you will take and accept this grace and virtue in good part as appertaineth, and that we shall not be enforced to use the service of other our true subjects and friends which, in this our just and rightful cause, God, in whom our whole affiance is, shall send us.

And she requires them to proclaim her accession in London.

‘Whereupon, my Lords, we require and charge you, and every of you, on your allegiance, which you owe to God and us, and to none other, that for our honour and the surety of our realm, only you will employ yourselves; and forthwith, upon receipt hereof, cause our right and title to the crown and government of this realm to be proclaimed in our city of London, and such other places as to your wisdom shall seem good, and as

A.D. 1553.
July 10.

to this cause appertaineth, not failing hereof, as CH. 30.
A.D. 1553.
July 10.
our very trust is in you; and this our letter,
signed with our own hand, shall be your sufficient
warrant.*

The Lords, when the letter was read to the end, looked uneasily in each other's faces. The ladies screamed, sobbed, and were carried off in hysterics. There was yet time to turn back; and had the Reformation been, as he pretended, the true concern of the Duke of Northumberland, he would have brought Mary back himself, bound by conditions which, in her present danger, she would have accepted. But Northumberland cared as little for religion as for any other good thing. He was a great criminal, throwing a stake for a crown; and treason is too conscious of its guilt to believe retreat from the first step to be possible.

Another blow was in store for him that night, before he laid his head upon his pillow. Lady Jane, knowing nothing of the letter from Mary, had retired to her apartment, when the Marquis of Winchester came in to wish her joy. He had brought the crown with him, which she had not sent for; he desired her to put it on, and see if it required alteration. She said it would do very well as it was. He then told her that, before her coronation, another crown was to be made for her husband. Lady Jane started; and it seemed as if for the first time the dreary suspicion crossed her mind that she was, after all, but the puppet of the ambition of the duke to raise his family to the throne. Winchester retired, and she sate indig-

Lord Win-
chester
tells Lady
Jane that
her hus-
band is to
be made
king.

CH. 30. nant* till Guilford Dudley appeared, when she told him that, young as she was, she knew that the crown of England was not a thing to be trifled with. There was no Dudley in Edward's will, and, before he could be crowned, the consent of parliament must be first asked and obtained. The boy-husband went whining to his mother, while Jane sent for Arundel and Pembroke, and told them that it was not for her to appoint kings. She would make her husband a duke, if he desired it; that was within her prerogative; but king she would not make him. As she was speaking, the Duchess of Northumberland rushed in with her son, fresh from the agitation of Mary's letter. The mother stormed; Guilford cried like a spoilt child that he would be no duke, he would be a king: and, when Jane stood firm, the duchess bade him come away, and not share the bed of an ungrateful and disobedient wife.†

The first experience of royalty had brought small pleasure with it. Dudley's kingship was set aside for the moment, and was soon forgotten in more alarming matters. To please his mother, or to pacify his vanity, he was called 'Your Grace.' He was allowed to preside in the council, so long as a council remained, and he dined alone‡—tinsel distinctions, for which the poor wretch had to pay dearly.

July 11. The next day restored the conspirators to their courage. No authentic accounts came in of disturbances. London was still quiet; so quiet,

* Le quale parole io senti con
mio gran dispiacere.—BAOARDO.

† Ibid.

‡ Se faisait servir de mesme.
—Renard to Charles V.: MS.

Rolls House.

that it was thought safe to nail Gilbert Potter by CH. 30.
the ears in the pillory, and after sufficient suffer-
ing, to slice them off with a knife. Lord War-
wick, and Lord Robert were still absent, and no news had come from them—a proof that they were still in pursuit. The duke made up his mind that Mary was watching only for an opportunity to escape to Flanders; and the ships in the river, with a thousand men-at-arms on board them, were sent to watch the Essex coast, and to seize her, could they find opportunity. Mean- while he himself penned a reply to her letter.

A.D. 1553.
July 11.
Gilbert
Potter is
pilloried.

Ships are
sent to
Yarmouth
to take
Mary pri-
soner.

‘The Lady Jane,’ he said, ‘by the antient laws of the realm,’ and ‘by letters patent of the late king,’ signed by himself, and countersigned by the nobility, was rightful queen of England. The divorce of Catherine of Arragon from Henry VIII. had been prescribed by the laws of God, pronounced by the Church of England, and confirmed by act of parliament; the daughter of Catherine was, therefore, illegitimate, and could not inherit; and the duke warned her to forbear, at her peril, from molesting her lawful sovereign, or turning her people from their allegiance. If she would submit and accept the position of a subject, she should receive every reasonable attention which it was in the power of the queen to show to her.

During the day rumours of all kinds were flying, but Mary’s friends in London saw no reasonable grounds for hope. Lord Robert was supposed by Renard* to be on his way to the

* Renard to Charles V.: *MS. Rolls House.*

CH. 30. Tower with the Princess as his prisoner; and if

A. D. 1553.

July 12.

The Dud-
leys at-
tempt to
take Mary
prisoner,
but fail.

Mary's
friends
begin to
show them-
selves, and
collect
round her
in Norfolk.

Buck-
inghamshire
rises.

she was once within the Tower walls, all hope was over. It was not till Wednesday morning that the duke became really alarmed. Then at once, from all sides, messengers came in with unwelcome tidings. The Dudleys had come up with Mary the day before, as she was on her way from Keninghal to Framlingham. They had dashed forward upon her escort, but their own men turned sharp round, declared for the Princess, and attempted to seize them; they had been saved only by the speed of their horses.* In the false calm of the two preceding days, Lord Bath had stolen across the country into Norfolk. Lord Mordaunt and Lord Wharton had sent their sons; Sir William Drury, Sir John Skelton, Sir Henry Bedingfield, and many more, had gone in the same direction. Lord Sussex had declared also for Mary; and, worse than all, Lord Derby had risen in Cheshire, and was reported to be marching south with twenty thousand men.† Scarcely were these news digested, when Sir Edmund Peckham, cofferer of the household, was found to have gone off with the treasure under his charge. Sir Edward Hastings, Lord Huntingdon's brother, had called out the musters of Buckinghamshire in Mary's name, and Peckham had joined him; while Sir Peter Carew, the very hope and stay of the western Protestants, had proclaimed Mary in the towns of Devonshire.

* Renard to Charles V.: *MS. Rolls House.*

† *Queen Jane and Queen Mary.* Renard to Charles V.

Now, when too late, it was seen how large an error had been committed in permitting the Princess's escape. But it was vain to waste time in regrets. Her hasty levies, at best, could be but rudely armed; the duke had trained troops and cannon, and, had he been free to act, with no enemies but those in the field against him, he had still the best of the game. But Suffolk and Northampton, the least able of the council, were, nevertheless, the only members of it on whom he could rely. To whom but to himself could he trust the army which must meet Mary in the field? If he led the army himself, whom could he leave in charge of London, the Tower, and Lady Jane? Winchester and Arundel knew his dilemma, and deliberately took advantage of it. The guard, when first informed that they were to take the field, refused to march. After a communication with the Marquis of Winchester, they withdrew their objections, and professed themselves willing to go. Northumberland, uneasy at their conduct, or requiring a larger force, issued a proclamation offering ten-pence a day to volunteers who would go to bring in the Lady Mary.* The lists were soon filled, but filled with the retainers and servants of his secret enemies.†

The men being thus collected, Suffolk was first

A.D. 1553.
July 12.

The duke finds that she must be met in the field.

The council determine to betray him, and tamper with the troops.

* *Grey Friars' Chronicle.* jori ex parte satellitio nobilium
 † Ille impigre quidem utpote qui secreto Maris favebant.—
 cuius res agebatur, proponit Julius Terentianus to John ab
 magna stipendia; conductit militem partim invitum partim
 Ulmis: *Epistolaæ TIGURINÆ,*
 perfidum; constabunt enim ma- p. 243.

CH. 30. thought of to lead them, or else Lord Grey de Wilton;* but Suffolk was inefficient, and his daughter could not bring herself to part with him; Grey was a good soldier, but he had been a friend of Somerset, and the duke had tried hard to involve him with Arundel and Paget in Somerset's ruin.† Northampton's truth could have been depended upon, but Northampton four years before had been defeated by a mob of Norfolk peasants. Northumberland, the council said, must go himself—'there was no remedy.' No man, on all accounts, could be so fit as he; 'he had achieved the victory in Norfolk once already, and was so feared, that none durst lift their weapons against him';† Suffolk in his absence should command the Tower. Had the duke dared, he would have delayed; but every moment that he remained inactive added to Mary's strength, and whatever he did he must risk something. He resolved to go, and as the plot was thickening, he sent Sir Henry Dudley to Paris to entreat the king to protect Calais against Charles, should the latter move upon it in his cousin's interest.

*A.D. 1553.
July 12.
The duke
can find no
one who
can be
trusted
to lead
them.*

*The coun-
cil tell him
that he
must go
himself.*

Noailles had assured him that this and larger favours would be granted without difficulty; while, as neither Renard nor his companions had as yet acknowledged Lady Jane, and were notoriously in correspondence with Mary, the French ambassador suggested also that he would do wisely to take the initiative himself, to send Renard his

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

† *Ibid.* ‡ *Chronicle of Queen Jane.*

passports, and commit the country to war with CH. 30.
the Emperor.* Northumberland would not ven-
ture the full length to which Noailles invited him; but he sent Sir John Mason and Lord Cobham to Renard, with an intimation that the English treason laws were not to be trifled with. If he and his companions dared to meddle in matters which did not concern them, their privileges as ambassadors should not protect them from extremity of punishment.†

A.D. 1553. July 22. And threatens the Fle-
mish ambas-
sadors with the
treason laws.

Newmarket was chosen for the rendezvous of Troops are sent on to New-market.
the army. The men were to go down in companies, in whatever way they could travel most expeditiously, with the guns and ammunition waggons. The duke himself intended to set out on Friday at dawn. In his calculations of the chances, hope still predominated—his cannon would give him the advantage in the field, and he trusted to the Protestant spirit in London to prevent a revolution in his absence. But he took the precaution of making the council entangle themselves more completely by taking out a commission under the Great Seal, as general of the army, which they were forced to sign; and before he left the Tower, he made a parting appeal to their good faith. If he believed they would betray him, he said, he could still provide for his own safety; but, as they were well aware that Lady Jane was on the throne by no will of her own, but through his influence and theirs, so he trusted

The duke takes out a commission under the Great Seal, and appeals to the council to keep their oaths to Lady Jane.

* NOAILLES, vol. ii.

† Ajoutant menace de la rigueur de leurs lois barbares.—Renard to Charles V.: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv.

CH. 30. her to their honours to keep the oaths which
 A.D. 1553. they had sworn. ‘They were all in the same
 July 14. guilt,’ one of them answered; ‘none could
 excuse themselves.’ Arundel especially wished
 the duke God speed upon his way, and re-
 gretted only that he was not to accompany him
 to the field.*

The duke
and his
sons leave
London.

This was on Thursday evening. Northumber-
 land slept that night at Whitehall. The follow-
 ing morning he rode out of London, accompanied
 by his four sons, Northampton, Grey, and about
 six hundred men. The streets were thronged with
 spectators, but all observed the same ominous
 silence with which they had received the heralds’
 proclamation. ‘The people press to see us,’ the
 duke said, ‘but not one saith God speed us.’†

The coun-
cil hesitate
to act
openly till
they are
sure of the
Earl of
Pembroke;

The principal conspirator was now out of the
 way; his own particular creatures—Sir Thomas
 and Sir Henry Palmer, Sir John Gates, who had
 commanded the Tower guard, had gone with him.
 Northampton was gone. The young Dudleys
 were gone all but Guilford. Suffolk alone re-
 mained of the faction definitely attached to the
 duke; and the duke was marching to the
 destruction which they had prepared for him.
 But prudence still warned those who were loyal
 to Mary to wait before they declared themselves;
 the event was still uncertain; and the disposi-
 tion of the Earl of Pembroke might not yet, per-
 haps, have been perfectly ascertained.

Pembroke, in the black volume of appropria-

* *Chronicle of Queen Jane.*

† *Ibid.*

tions, was the most deeply compromised. Pembroke, in Wilts and Somerset, where his new lands lay, was hated for his oppression of the poor, and had much to fear from a Catholic sovereign, could a Catholic sovereign obtain the reality as well as the name of power; Pembroke, so said Northumberland, had been the first to propose the conspiracy to him, while his eldest son had married Catherine Grey. But, as Northumberland's designs began to ripen, he had endeavoured to steal from the court; he was a distinguished soldier, yet he was never named to command the army which was to go against Mary; Lord Herbert's marriage was outward and nominal merely—a form, which had not yet become a reality, and never did. Although Pembroke was the first of the council to do homage to Jane, Northumberland evidently doubted him. He was acting and would continue to act for his own personal interests only. With his vast estates and vast hereditary influence in South Wales and on the Border, he could bring a larger force into the field than any other single nobleman in England; and he could purchase the secure possession of his acquisitions by a well-timed assistance to Mary as readily as by lending his strength to buttress the throne of her rival.

Of the rest of the council, Winchester and Arundel had signed the letters patent with a deliberate intention of deserting or betraying Northumberland, whenever a chance should present itself, and of carrying on their secret mea-

CH. 30.
A.D. 1553.
July 14.

And Pembroke had, perhaps, not yet resolved on the course which he would pursue.

24 *The Council prepare to declare for Mary.*

Ch. 30. A.D. 1553.
July 14.
General
disposition
of the coun-
cil and the
Secretaries
of State. sures in Mary's favour* with greater security. The other noblemen in the Tower perhaps imperfectly understood each other. Cranmer had taken part unwillingly with Lady Jane; but he meant to keep his promise, having once given it. Bedford had opposed the duke up to the signature, and might be supposed to adhere to his original opinion; but he was most likely hesitating, while Lord Russell had been trusted with the command of the garrison at Windsor. Sir Thomas Cheyne and Shrewsbury might be counted among Mary's friends; the latter certainly. Of the three secretaries, Cecil's opposition had put his life in jeopardy; Petre was the friend and confidant of Paget, and would act as Paget should advise; Cheke, a feeble enthusiast, was committed to the duke.

Cecil brings them together, and they are joined by Paget. The task of bringing the council together was undertaken by Cecil. Cecil and Winchester worked on Bedford; and Bedford made himself responsible for his son, for the troops at Windsor, and generally for the western counties. The first important step was to readmit Paget to the council. Fresh risings were reported in Northampton-

* Aliqui subscriperunt, id quod postea compertum est, ut facilius fallerent Northumbrum, cuius consilio haec omnia videbant fieri et tegerent conspirationem quam adornabant in auxilium Marie.—Julius Terentianus to John ab Ulmis: *Epistole Tigubinæ*, p. 242. John Knox allowed his vehemence to carry him too far against the

Marquis of Winchester, who unquestionably was not one of those who advised the scheme of Northumberland. In the 'aliqui' of Julius Terentianus, the letters of Renard, of Scheyfne, enable us to identify both him and Arundel; but there must have been many more, in the council or out of it, who were acting in concert with them.

shire and Lincolnshire;* Sir John Williams was proclaiming Mary round Oxford; and on Friday night or Saturday morning news came from the fleet which might be considered decisive as to the duke's prospects. The vessels, so carefully equipped, which left the Thames on the 12th, had been driven into Yarmouth harbour by stress of weather. Sir Henry Jerningham was in the town raising men for Mary; and knowing that the crews had been pressed, and that there had been desertions among the troops before they were embarked,† he ventured boldly among the ships. 'Do you want our captains?' some one said to him. 'Yea, marry,' was the answer. 'Then they shall go with you,' the men shouted, 'or they shall go to the bottom.' Officers, sailors, troops, all declared for Queen Mary, and landed with their arms and artillery. The report was borne upon the winds; it was known in a few hours in London; it was known in the duke's army, which was now close to Cambridge, and was the signal for the premeditated mutiny. 'The noblemen's tenants refused to serve their lords against Queen Mary.'‡ Northumberland sent a courier at full speed to the council for reinforcements. The courier returned 'with but a slender answer.'§

CH. 30.
A.D. 1553.
July 15.

The sailors and troops in the fleet declare for Mary,

And the duke's army begins to mutiny.

The Lords in London, however, were still under the eyes of the Tower garrison, who watched them narrowly. Their first meeting to

* Cecil's Submission, printed by TYTLE, vol. ii.

† Scheyfnes to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

‡ *Chronicle of Queen Jane.*

§ *Ibid.*

CH. 30. form their plans was within the Tower walls, and
 A.D. 1553. Arundel said ‘he liked not the air.’* Pembroke
 July 15. and Cheyne attempted to escape, but failed to
 The Tower guard evade the guard; Winchester made an excuse to
 watches go to his own house, but he was sent for and
 the council brought back at midnight. Though Mary might
 succeed, they might still lose their own lives,
 which they were inclined to value.

July 16. On Sunday, the 16th, the preachers again
 Ridley exerted themselves. Ridley shrieked against
 preaches at Paul’s Mary at Paul’s Cross;† John Knox, more wisely,
 Cross, at Amersham, in Buckinghamshire, foretold the
 approaching retribution from the giddy ways of
 the past years; Buckinghamshire, Catholic and
 Protestant, was arming to the teeth; and he was
 speaking at the peril of his life among the
 troopers of Sir Edward Hastings.

And John Knox preaches at Amersham. ‘Oh England!’ cried the saddened Reformer,
 ‘now is God’s wrath kindled against thee—now hath he begun to punish as he hath threatened
 by his true prophets and messengers. He hath taken from thee the crown of thy glory, and hath left thee without honour, and this appeareth to be only the beginning of sorrows. The heart, the tongue, the hand of one Englishman is bent against another, and division is in the realm, which is a sign of desolation to come. Oh, England, England! if thy mariners and thy governors shall consume one another, shalt not thou suffer shipwreck? Oh England, alas! these plagues are poured upon thee because thou

* Cecil’s Submission : TITLER, vol. ii.

† Stow.

wouldst not know the time of thy most gentle CH. 30.
visitation.'*

At Cambridge, on the same day, another notable man preached—Edwin Sandys, then Protestant Vice-Chancellor of the University, and afterwards Archbishop of York. Northumberland the preceding evening brought his mutinous troops into the town. He sent for Parker, Lever, Bill, and Sandys to sup with him, and told them he required their prayers, or he and his friends were like to be 'made deacons of.'† Sandys, the vice-chancellor, must address the university the next morning from the pulpit.

Sandys rose at three o'clock in the summer twilight, took his Bible, and prayed with closed eyes that he might open at a fitting text. His eyes, when he lifted them, were resting on the 16th of the 1st of Joshua: 'The people answered Joshua, saying, all thou commandest us we will do; and whithersoever thou sendest us we will go; according as we hearkened unto Moses, so will we hearken unto thee, only the Lord thy God be with thee as he was with Moses.'

The application was obvious. Edward was Moses, the duke was Joshua; and if a sermon could have saved the cause, Lady Jane would have been secure upon her throne.‡

* Account of a Sermon at Amersham: *Admonition to the Faithful in England*, by JOHN KNOX.

† Some jest, perhaps, upon a shorn crown; at any rate, a euphemism for decapitation; for Foxe, who tells the story, says,

'and even so it came to pass, for he and Sir John Gates, who was then at table, were made deacons ere it was long after on the Tower Hill.—Foxe, vol. viii.

p. 590.

‡ Ibid.

A.D. 1553.
July 16.
The duke
at Cam-
bridge.

CH. 30.

A.D. 1553.

July 16.

But the
English
people can-
not regard
him in the
same light.

But the comparison, if it held at all, held only in its least agreeable features. The deliverers of England from the Egyptian bondage of the Papacy had led the people out into a wilderness where the manna had been stolen by the leaders, and there were no tokens of a promised land. To the universities the Reformation had brought with it desolation. To the people of England it had brought misery and want. The once open hand was closed; the once open heart was hardened; the ancient loyalty of man to man was exchanged for the scuffling of selfishness; the change of faith had brought with it no increase of freedom, and less of charity. The prisons were crowded, as before, with sufferers for opinion, and the creed of a thousand years was made a crime by a doctrine of yesterday; monks and nuns wandered by hedge and highway, as missionaries of discontent; and pointed with bitter effect to the fruits of the new belief, which had been crimsoned in the blood of thousands of English peasants. The English people were not yet so much in love with wretchedness that they would set aside for the sake of it a princess whose injuries pleaded for her, whose title was affirmed by act of parliament. In the tyranny under which the nation was groaning, the moderate men of all creeds looked to the accession of Mary as to the rolling away of some bad black nightmare.

The duke's
army re-
fuses deci-
sively to
fight
against
Mary.

On Monday Northumberland made another effort to move forward. His troops followed him as far as Bury, and then informed him de-

cisively that they would not bear arms against CH. 30.
their lawful sovereign. He fell back on Cam- A.D. 1553.
bridge, and again wrote to London for help. As July 17.
a last resource, Sir Andrew Dudley, instructed, it Sir An-
is likely, by his brother, gathered up a hundred drew Dud-
thousand crowns' worth of plate and jewels from ley flies to
the treasury in the Tower, and started for Paris to
France to interest Henry—to bribe him, it was beg that a
said, by a promise of Guisnes and Calais—to French
send an army into England.* The duke foresaw, army may
and dared the indignation of the people; but he be sent to
had left himself no choice except between treason England.
to the country or now inevitable destruction.† When he called in the help of France he must have known well that his ally, with a successful army in England, would prevent indeed the accession of Mary Tudor, but as surely would tear in pieces the paper title of the present queen, and snatch the crown for his own Mary, the Queen of Scots, and the bride of the Dauphin.

But the council was too quick for Dudley. A secret messenger followed or attended him to

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

† La peine où se retrouve ledict duc est qu'il ne se ose fier en personne, pour n'avoir fait ou donné occasion à personne de l'aimer,—que a meu envoyer en France le Millor Dudley son frère, pour l'assurer du secours que luy a été promis par le roy de France, et le prier en faire démonstration pour intimider ceulx de par deça. Car encores qu'il entende qu'il dégoustera davantage ceulx du pays pour y

amener François, si est ce craignant d'estre rebouté de son emprise, et d'estre massacré du peuple et sa generation, et que ma dicte dame Marie ne parvienne à la couronne, il ne respectera chose quelconque : plutôt donnera il pied aux François ou peys : tel est le couraige d'ung homme tiran, obstiné, et resolu, signamment quant il est question de se démesurer pour regner.—Renard to Charles V.: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. p. 38.

CH. 30. Calais, where he was arrested, the treasure recovered, and his despatches taken from him.

A.D. 1553.
July 19.

The counter-revolution could now be accomplished without bloodshed and without longer delay. On Wednesday the 19th word came that the Earl of Oxford had joined Mary. A letter was written to Lord Rich admonishing him not to follow Oxford's example, but to remain true to Queen Jane, which the council were required to sign. Had they refused, they would probably have been massacred.* Towards the middle of the day, Winchester, Arundel, Pembroke, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Cheyne, Paget, Mason, and Petre found means of passing the gates, and made their way to Baynard's Castle,† where they sent for the mayor, the aldermen, and other great persons of the city. When they were all assembled, Arundel was the first to speak.

The council escape from the Tower to Baynard's Castle, and send for the Lord Mayor.

The country, he said, was on the brink of civil war, and if they continued to support the pretensions of Lady Jane Grey to the crown, civil war would inevitably break out. In a few more days or weeks the child would be in arms against the father, the brother against the brother; the quarrels of religion would add fury to the struggle; the French would interfere on one side, the Spaniards on the other, and in such a conflict the

* The letter is among the *Lansdowne MSS.* It is in the hand of Sir John Cheke, and dated July 19. The signatures are Cranmer, Goodrich, Winchester, Bedford, Suffolk, Arundel, Shrewsbury, Pembroke, Darcy, Paget, Cheyne, Cotton, Petre, Cheke, Baker, Bowes.

† Fronting the river, about three quarters of a mile above London Bridge. The original castle of Baynard the Norman had fallen into ruins at the end of the fifteenth century. Henry VII. built a palace on the site of it, which retained the name.

triumph of either party would be almost equally injurious to the honour, unity, freedom, and happiness of England. The friends of the commonwealth, in the face of so tremendous a danger, would not obstinately persist in encouraging the pretensions of a faction. It was for them where they sate to decide if there should be peace or war, and he implored them, for the sake of the country, to restore the crown to her who was their lawful sovereign.

A.D. 1553.
July 19.
Lord Arun-
del pro-
poses that
the crown
shall be re-
stored to its
lawful
owner.

Pembroke rose next. The words of Lord Pembroke follows on the same side, and swears that Mary shall be queen. Arundel, he said, were true and good, and not to be gainsaid. What others thought he knew not; for himself, he was so convinced, that he would fight in the quarrel with any man; and if words are not enough, he cried, flashing his sword out of the scabbard, ‘this blade shall make Mary queen, or I will lose my life.’*

Not a voice was raised for the Twelfth-day Queen, as Lady Jane was termed, in scornful pity, by Noailles. Some few persons thought that, before they took a decisive step, they should send notice to Northumberland, and give him time to secure his pardon. But it was held to be a needless stretch of consideration; Shrewsbury and Mason hastened off to communicate with Renard;† while a hundred and fifty men were marched directly to the Tower gates,

* E quando le persuasioni del conte d'Arundel non habiano luogo appresso di voi, o questa spada farà Reina Maria, o perderò io la vita.—BAOARDO.

† Renard had been prepared, by a singular notice, to expect

their coming, and to suspect their good faith. Ce matin, he wrote, relating the counter-revolution to the Emperor; ce matin, à bonne heure, il y a venu une vieille femme de soixante ans en nostre logis pour nous adver-

CH. 30. and the keys were demanded in the queen's name.

A.D. 1553.

July 19.

Suffolk

tells Lady

Jane that

she is

queen no

longer.

She listens
with quiet
pleasure,
and begs
that she
may now
go home.

Pembroke
proclaims
Mary queen
amidst the
exultations
of the
people.

It is said that Suffolk was unprepared: but the goodness of his heart and the weakness of his mind alike saved him from attempting a useless resistance: the gates were opened, and the unhappy father rushed to his daughter's room. He clutched at the canopy under which she was sitting, and tore it down; she was no longer queen, he said, and such distinctions were not for one of her station. He then told her briefly of the revolt of the council. She replied that his present words were more welcome to her than those in which he had advised her to accept the crown;* her reign being at an end, she asked innocently if she might leave the Tower and go home.† But the Tower was a place not easy to leave, save by one route too often travelled.

Meanwhile the Lords, with the mayor and the heralds, went to the Cross at Cheapside to proclaim Mary queen. Pembroke himself stood out to read; and this time there was no reason to complain of a silent audience. He could utter but one sentence before his voice was lost in the shout of joy which thundered into the air. 'God save the Queen,' 'God save the Queen,' rung out from tens of thousands of throats. 'God save the Queen,' cried Pembroke himself, when he

tir que l'on deust faire scavoir à
madicte dame Marie qu'elle se
donna garde de ceulx de conseil
car ils la vouloient tromper soubz
couleur de luy monstrarre affection.
—*Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv.

* Baoardo to Charles V.:
Rolls House MSS.

† Narrative of Edward Underhill: *Harleian MSS.* 425.

had done, and flung up his jewelled cap and CH. 30. tossed his purse among the crowd. The glad news spread like lightning through London, and the pent-up hearts of the citizens poured themselves out in a torrent of exultation. Above the human cries, the long-silent church-bells clashed again into life; first began St. Paul's, where happy chance had saved them from destruction; then, one by one, every peal which had been spared caught up the sound; and through the summer evening and the summer night, and all the next day, the metal tongues from tower and steeple gave voice to England's gladness. The Lords, surrounded by the shouting multitude, walked in state to St. Paul's, where the choir again sang a Te Deum, and the unused organ rolled out once more its mighty volume of music. As they came out again, at the close of the service, the apprentices were heaping piles of wood for bonfires at the cross-ways. The citizens were spreading tables in the streets, which their wives were loading with fattest capons and choicest wines; there was free feasting for all comers; and social jealousies, religious hatreds, were forgotten for the moment in the ecstasy of the common delight. Even the retainers of the Dudleys, in fear or joy, tore their badges out of their caps, and trampled on them.*

A.D. 1553.
July 19.
The bells
peal day
and night.

Te Deum
is sung at
St. Paul's,
and Lon-
don feasts
in the
streets.

* Renard to Charles V.: Renard, Noailles, and Baordo
Rolls House MSS. All autho- | are the most explicit and inter-
rities agree in the general de- | resting.
scription of the state of London.

CH. 30.

A.D. 1553.
July 19.
The coun-
cil require
the duke
to lay down
his arms,

At a night session of the council, a letter was written to Northumberland, which Cranmer, Suffolk, and Sir John Cheke consented to sign, ordering him in the name of Queen Mary to lay down his arms. If he complied, the Lords undertook to intercede for his pardon. If he refused, they said that they would hold him as a traitor, and spend their lives in the field against him.*

And write
to Mary to
ask for
their par-
dons.

While a pursuivant bore the commands of the council to the duke, Arundel and Paget undertook to carry to Mary at Framlingham their petition for forgiveness, in which they declared that they had been innocent at heart of any share in the conspiracy,† and had only delayed coming

* This letter is among the *Tanner MSS.* in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It was printed by Stow.

† ‘Our bounden duties most humbly remembered to your excellent Majesty. It may like the same to understand, that we, your most humble, faithful, and obedient subjects, having always, God we take to witness, remained your Highness’s true and humble subjects in our hearts, ever since the death of our late Sovereign Lord and master your Highness’s brother, whom God pardon, and seeing hitherto no possibility to utter our determination without great destruction and bloodshed, both of ourselves and others, till this time, have this day proclaimed in your city of London your Majesty to be our true natural sovereign liege Lady and Queen; most humbly

beseeching your Majesty to pardon and remit our former infirmities, and most graciously to accept our meanings, which have been ever to serve your Highness truly, and so shall remain with all our power and force, to the effusion of our blood, as these bearers, our very good Lords, the Earls of Arundel and Paget, can, and be ready more particularly to declare—to whom it may please your excellent Majesty to give firm credence; and thus we do and shall daily pray to Almighty God for the preservation of your most royal person long to reign over us.’—*Lansdowne MSS.* 3. Endorsed, in Cecil’s hand, ‘Copy of the Letter of the Lords to the Queen Mary from Baynard’s Castle.’ The signatures are, unfortunately, wanting.

forward in her favour from a desire to prevent Ch. 30.
bloodshed.

The two lords immediately mounted and galloped off into the darkness, followed by thirty horse, leaving the lights of illuminated London gleaming behind them.

The duke's position was already desperate: on the 18th, before the proclamation in London, Mary had felt herself strong enough to send orders to the Mayor of Cambridge for his arrest;* and, although he had as yet been personally unmolested, he was powerless in the midst of an army which was virtually in Mary's service.

The news of the revolution in London first reached him by a private hand. He at once sent for Sandys, and, going with him to the market cross, he declared, after one violent clutch at his beard, that he had acted under orders from the council; the council, he understood, had changed their minds, and therefore he would change his mind; therefore he cried, 'God save Queen Mary,' and with a strained effort at a show of satisfaction, he, too, like Pembroke, threw up his cap. The queen, he said to Sandys, was a merciful woman, and there would be a general pardon. 'Though the queen grant you a pardon,' Sandys answered, 'the Lords never will; you can hope nothing from those who now rule'.†

It was true that he could hope nothing—the hatred of the whole nation, which before his

A.D. 1553.
July 19.
Arundel
and Paget
carry the
letter.

The duke,
hearing of
the change
in London,
proclaims
Mary at
Cambridge.

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

† Foxe, vol. viii.

CH. 30. late treasons he had brought upon himself, would
 ——————
 A.D. 1553. clamour to the very heavens for judgment against
 July 20. him. An hour after the proclamation of Mary,
 Rouge-cross herald arrived with the Lords' letter
 from London. An order at the same time was
 The troops are disbanded.
 An alderman of Cambridge arrests the duke. His soldiers release him.
 read to the troops informing them that they were no longer under the duke's command, and an alderman of the town then ventured to execute the queen's warrant for his arrest. Northumberland was given in charge to a guard of his own soldiers; he protested, however, that the council had sent no instructions for his detention; and in some uncertainty, or perhaps in compassion for his fate, the soldiers obeyed him once more, and let him go. It was then night. He intended to fly; but he put it off till the morning, and in the morning his chance was gone. Before he could leave his room he found himself face to face with Arundel, who, after delivering the council's letter to the queen, had hastened to Cambridge to secure him.

Northumberland, who, while innocent of crime, had faced death on land and sea like a soldier and a gentleman, flung himself at the earl's feet. 'Be good to me, for the love of God,' he cried; 'consider I have done nothing but by the consent of you and the council.' He knew what kind of consent he had extorted from the council.

'My Lord,' said Arundel, 'I am sent hither by But the next morning he is again arrested by Arundel.
 the Queen's Majesty; and in her name I do arrest you.'—'I obey, my Lord,' the duke replied; 'yet shew me mercy, knowing the case as it is.'—'My Lord,' was the cold answer, 'you should

have sought for mercy sooner; I must do according to my commandment.'*

At the same moment Sandys was paying the penalty for his sermon. The university, in haste to purge itself of its heretical elements, met soon after sunrise to depose their vice-chancellor.

Dr. Sandys, who had gone for an early stroll among the meadows to meditate on his position, hearing the congregation-bell ringing, resolved, like a brave man, to front his fortune; he walked to the Senate-house, entered, and took his seat. 'A rabble of Papists' instantly surrounded him. He tried to speak, but the masters of arts shouted 'Traitor;' rough hands shook or dragged him from his chair: and the impatient theologian, in sudden heat, drew his dagger, and 'would have done a mischief with it,' had not some of his friends disarmed him.† He, too, was handed over to a guard, lashed to the back of a lame horse, and carried to London.

Mary, meanwhile, notwithstanding the revolution in her favour, remained a few more days at Framlingham, either suspicious of treachery or uncertain whether there might not be another change. But she was assured rapidly that the danger was at an end by the haste with which the lords and gentlemen who were compromised sought their pardon at her feet. On the 21st and 22nd Clinton, Grey, Fitzgerald, Ormond, Fitzwarren, Sir Henry Sidney, and Sir James Crofts presented themselves and received forgiveness. Cecil wrote, explaining his secret services,

A.D. 1553.
July 21.

Sandys is seized in the Senate-house, and sent to London.

The Lords
who had
signed the
letters
patent ap-
ply for par-
don, which
some re-
ceive, and
some do
not.

* HOLINSHED.

† FOXE, vol. viii. pp. 591-2.

CH. 30. and was taken into favour. Lord Robert and
 ——————
 A.D. 1553.
 July 21. Lord Ambrose Dudley, Northampton and a hundred other gentlemen—Sir Thomas Wyatt among them—who had accompanied the duke to Bury, were not so fortunate. The queen would not see them, and they were left under arrest. Ridley set out for Norfolk, also, to confess his offences; but, before he arrived at the court, he was met by a warrant for his capture, and carried back a prisoner to the Tower.

Mary will
bury Ed-
ward with
Catholic
rites.

The conspiracy was crushed, and crushed, happily, without bloodshed. The inquiry into its origin, and the punishment of the guilty, could be carried out at leisure. There was one matter, however, which admitted of no delay; Mary's first anxiety, on feeling her crown secure, was the burial of her dead brother, who, through all these scenes, was still lying in his bed in his room at Greenwich. In her first letter to the Imperial ambassadors, the day after the arrival of Arundel and Paget at the court, she spoke of this as her greatest care; to their infinite alarm, she announced her intention of inaugurating her reign with Requiem and Dirige, and a mass for the repose of his soul.

Their uneasiness requires explanation.

While on matters of religion there was in England almost every variety of opinion, there was a very general consent that the queen should not marry a foreigner. The dread that Mary might form a connexion with some Continental prince, had formed the strongest element in Northumberland's cause; all the Catholics, ex-

cept the insignificant faction who desired the restoration of the Papal authority,* all the moderate Protestants, wished well to her, but wished to see her married to some English nobleman; and, while her accession was still uncertain, the general opinion had already fixed upon a husband for her in the person of her cousin Edward Courtenay, the imprisoned son of the Marquis of Exeter. The interest of the public in the long confinement of this young nobleman had invested him with all imaginary graces of mind and body. He was the grandchild of a Plantagenet, and a representative of the White Rose. He had suffered from the tyranny, and was supposed to have narrowly escaped murder at the hands of the man whom all England most hated. Nature, birth, circumstances, all seemed to point to him as the king-consort of the realm.† The Emperor had thought of Mary for

A.D. 1553.
July 21.
England
desires that
Mary shall
marry Lord
Courtenay,

* I must again remind my readers of the distinction between Catholic and Papist. Three quarters of the English people were Catholics; that is, they were attached to the hereditary and traditional doctrines of the Church. They detested, as cordially as the Protestants, the interference of a foreign power, whether secular or spiritual, with English liberty.

† 'Adversity is a good thing. I trust in the Lord to live to see the day her Grace to marry such an one as knoweth what adversity meaneth; so shall we have both a merciful queen and king to their subjects; and would to God I might live to have another virtuous Ed-

ward.'—Epistle of Poor Pratt to Gilbert Potter, written July 13: *Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, Appendix, p. 116. The occasion of this curious epistle was the punishment of Gilbert on the pillory. The writer was a Protestant, and evidently thought the Reformation in greater danger from Northumberland than Mary. 'We have had many prophets and true preachers,' he said, 'which did declare that our king shall be taken away from us, and a tyrant shall reign. The gospel shall be plucked away, and the right heir shall be dispossessed; and all for our unthankfulness. And, thinkest thou not, Gilbert, this world is

CH. 30. his son; and it has been seen that the fear of
 such an alliance induced the French to support
 Northumberland. To prevent the injury which
 the report, if credited in England, would have
 done to her cause, Mary, on her first flight to
 Keninghal, empowered Renard to assure the
 council that she had no thought at all of marry-
 ing a stranger. The Emperor and the Bishop
 of Arras, in assuring Sir Philip Hoby that the
 French intended to strike for the Queen of Scots,
 declared that, for themselves, they wished only to
 see the queen settled in her own realm, as her
 subjects desired; and especially they would pre-
 vent her either from attempting innovations in
 religion without their consent, or from marrying
 against their approbation.*

A.D. 1553.
July 21.
And Mary
disclaims
all desire
to marry a
foreigner.

Charles
professes
that he
wishes her
to do as her
subjects de-
sire, as
long as her
success is
uncertain;

But the Emperor's disinterestedness was only the result of his despondency. While the crisis lasted, neither Charles nor Henry of France saw their way to a distinct course of action. Charles, on the 20th of July, ignorant of the events in London, had written to Renard, despairing of Mary's success. Jane Grey he would not recognise; the Queen of Scots, he thought, would shortly be on the English throne. Henry, considering, at any rate, that he might catch something in troubled waters, volunteered to Lord William Howard,† in professed compliance with

now come? Yea! truly! and what shall follow, if we repent not in time? The same God will take from us the virtuous Lady Mary our lawful queen, and send such a cruel Pharaoh

as the Ragged Bear to rule us, which shall pull and poll us, and utterly destroy us, and bring us in great calamities and miseries.*

* MS. Harleian, 523.

† Governor of Calais.

the demands of Northumberland, to garrison CH. 30.
A.D. 1553.
July 21. Guisnes and Calais for him. Howard replied that the French might come to Calais if they desired, but their reception might not be to their taste.* The revolution of the 19th altered the aspect of the situation both at the courts of Paris and of Brussels. The accession of Mary would be no injury to France, provided she could be married in England; and Henry at once instructed Noailles to congratulate the council on her accession. Noailles himself indeed considered, that, should she take Courtenay for a husband, the change might, after all, be to their advantage. The Emperor, on the other hand, began to think again of his original scheme. Knowing that the English were sincere in their detestation of the Papacy, and imperfectly comprehending the insular distinction between general attachment to Catholic tradition and indifference to Catholic unity, he supposed that the country really was, on the whole, determined in its adherence to the Reformed opinions. But the political alliance was still of infinite importance to him; and therefore he was anxious beyond everything that the princess whom he intended to persuade to break her word about her marriage should be discreet and conciliatory about religion. He lost not a moment, after hearing that she was proclaimed queen, in sending her his congratulations; but he sent with them an earnest admonition to be cautious; to be content with the free exercise for herself

But, as soon as she is on the throne, he returns to his plan of marrying her to Philip,

And therefore is anxious that she shall give no offence to her subjects in religion.

CH. 30. of her own creed, to take no step whatever
 without the sanction of parliament, and to listen
 A.D. 1553.
 July 21. to no one who would advise her, of her own
 authority, to set aside the Act of Uniformity. Her
 first duty was to provide for the quiet of the realm ;
 and she must endeavour, by prudence and modera-
 tion, to give reasonable satisfaction to her subjects
 of all opinions. Above all things, let her remember
 to be a good Englishwoman (*bonne Anglaise*).*

Renard,
 therefore,
 intreats
 that Ed-
 ward may
 be buried
 with the
 established
 Protestant
 forms.

It was, in consequence, with no light anxiety
 that Renard learnt from Mary her intention of
 commencing her reign with an act which was so
 far at variance with the Emperor's advice, and which
 would at once display the colours of a party. To
 give the king a public funeral with a ceremonial
 forbidden by the law, would be a strain of the
 prerogative which could not fail to create jealousy
 even among those to whom the difference between
 a Latin mass and an English service was not ab-
 solutely vital ; and the judicious latitudinarianism
 to which the lay statesmen of the better sort were
 inclining, would make them dread the appearance
 of a disposition that would encourage the revolu-
 tionists. She owed her crown to the Protestants
 as well as to the Catholics. If she broke the
 law to please the prejudices of the latter, Renard
 was warned that her present popularity would not
 be of long continuance.†

Yet, as the ambassador trembled to know, a
 carelessness of consequences and an obstinate

* Charles V. to Renard, July 22 : *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv.

† Elle sera odieuse, suspecte, et dangereuse.—Renard to the
Emperor: *Rolls House MSS.*

perseverance in a course which she believed to be right were the principal features in Mary's character. He wrote to her while she was still at Framlingham, using every argument which ought, as he considered, to prevail. He reminded her of the long and unavailing struggle of the Emperor to bring back Germany out of heresy, where the obstinacy of the Romanists had been as mischievous to him as the fanaticism of the Lutherans. 'Her duty to God was of course the first thing to be considered; but at such a time prudence was a part of that duty. The Protestant heresies had taken a hold deep and powerful upon her subjects. In London alone there were fifteen thousand French, Flemish, and German refugees, most of them headstrong and ungovernable enthusiasts. The country dreaded any fresh convulsions, and her Majesty should remember that she had instructed him to tell the council that she was suspected unjustly, and had no thought of interfering with the existing settlement of the realm.'*

With all his efforts, however, Renard could but bring the queen to consent to a few days' delay; and fearing that she would return to her purpose, he sent to the Emperor a copy of his letter, which he urged him to follow up. Charles on the 29th replied again, lauding the ambassador's caution, and suggesting an argument more likely to weigh with his cousin than the soundest considerations

CH. 30.

A.D. 1553.

July 21.

He im-

plores her

to be cau-

tious, and

to remem-

ber her

promise.

She con-
sents to de-
lay, and
Charles en-
dorses Re-
nard's ar-
guments.

* Renard to Queen Mary, copy enclosed to Charles V.; *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 30. of public policy. Edward had lived and died in
 heresy, and the Catholic services were intended
 A.D. 1553.
 July. 29. only for the faithful sons of the Church.* He
 desired Renard to remind her that those who
 had been her most valuable friends were known
 Charles tells her to call a free parliament, and be guided by its advice; more implored her to be guided by parliament, and to take care that the parliament was free. She had asked whether she should imitate North-umberland and nominate the members of the House of Commons. He cautioned her against so dangerous an example; he advised her to let the counties and towns send deputies of their own choice; and if the writs were sent into Cornwall and the northern counties which had remained most constant to the Catholic religion, these places might be expected to return persons who would support her own sentiments.†

If the Emperor had been equally earnest in urging Mary to consult the wishes of her subjects on her marriage, he would have been a truer friend to her than he proved to be. But

* Vous avez tres bien fait de desconseillier à la dicté Royne qu'elle fist les obseques du feu Roy, ce qu'elle peult tant plus delaisser avecque la repos de sa conscience, puisque comme escripte il est decedé soustenant jusques à la fin, selon qu'il avoit esté persuadé de depuis sa jeunesse, les opinions de desvoyez de nostre ancienne religion : par ou l'on ne peult sans scrupule luy faire l'enterrement et obsèques accoustumez en nostre dicté religion. Et est

bien que l'ayez persuadé par vostre dicté lettre à la dicté dilation.—Charles V. to Renard. July 29: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv.

† Et il seroit à esperer que y appellant ceux du Noort et de Cornualles avec les autres comme ce sont ceux qui sont demeurez plus ferme en la religion, et qui ont démonstre plus d'affection en son endroit qu'elle trouveroit envers iceux pour tout ce qu'elle vouldroit ordonner plus de faveur. —Ibid.

prudential arguments produced no effect on the CH. 30.
eager queen; Renard had warned her not to re- A.D. 1553.
sist Northumberland; she had acted on her own July.
judgment, and Northumberland was a prisoner, But Mary
and she was on the throne. By her own will she is confident
was confident that she could equally well restore in her own judgment.
the mass, and in good time the Pope's authority.
The religious objection to the funeral was more
telling, and on this point she hesitated. Mean-
time she began to move slowly towards London,
and at the end of the month she reached her old
house of Newhall in Essex, where she rested till
the preparations were complete for her entry into
London.

The first point on which she had now to make up her mind concerned the persons with whom she was to carry on the government. The Emperor was again clear in his advice, which here she found herself obliged to follow. She was forced to leave undisturbed in their authorities such of her brother's late ministers as had contributed to the revolution in her favour. Derby, Sussex, Bath, Oxford, who had hurried to her support at Framlingham, were her loyal subjects, whom she could afford to neglect, because she could depend upon their fidelity. Pembroke and Winchester, Arundel and Shrewsbury, Bedford, Cobham, Cheyne, Petre, too powerful to affront, too uncertain to be trusted as subjects, she could only attach to herself by maintaining in their offices and emoluments. She would restore the Duke of Norfolk to the council; Gardiner should hold office again; and she could rely on the good faith of Paget, the ablest, as well as the

The Emperor recommends her to retain the services of most of Edward's council;
And with this advice she is forced reluctantly to comply.

CH. 30. most honest, of all the professional statesmen. But Norfolk was old, and the latitudinarian Paget and the bigoted Gardiner bore each other no good will; so that, when the queen had leisure to contemplate her position, it did not promise to be an easy one. She would have to govern with the assistance of men who were gorged with the spoils of the Church, suspected of heresy, and at best indifferent to religion.

A.D. 1553.
July.

Gardiner rejoins the council, and creates alarm.

In Mary's absence, the Lords in London carried on the government as they could on their own responsibility. On the 21st Courtenay was released from the Tower. Gardiner was offered liberty, but he waited to accept it from the queen's own hand. He rejoined the council, however, and on the first or second day of his return to the board, he agitated their deliberations by requiring the restoration of his house in Southwark, which had been appropriated to the Marquis of Northampton, and by reminding Pembroke that he was in possession of estates which had been stolen from the see of Winchester.

July 25.
Northumberland is brought into London, and committed to the Tower.

On the 25th Northumberland and Lord Ambrose Dudley were brought in from Cambridge, escorted by Grey and Arundel, with four hundred of the guard. Detachments of troops were posted all along the streets from Bishopsgate where the duke would enter, to the Tower, to prevent the mob from tearing him in pieces. It was but twelve days since he had ridden out from that gate in the splendour of his power; he was now assailed from all sides with yells and execrations; bare-headed, with cap in hand, he bowed to the crowd

as he rode on, as if to win some compassion from them; but so recent a humility could find no favour. His scarlet cloak was plucked from his back; the only sounds which greeted his ears were, ‘Traitor, traitor, death to the traitor!’ He hid his face, sick at heart with shame, and Lord Ambrose, at the gate of the Tower, was seen to burst into tears.* Edwin Sandys, Northampton, Ridley, Lord Robert Dudley, the offending judges Cholmley and Montague, with many others, followed in the few next days. Montague had protested to the queen that he had acted only under compulsion, but his excuses were not fully received. Lady Northumberland went to Newhall to beg for mercy for her sons, but Mary refused to admit her.†

In general, however, there was no desire to press hard upon the prisoners. Few had been guilty in the first degree; in the second degree so many were guilty, that all could not be punished, and to make exceptions would be unjust and invidious. The Emperor recommended a general pardon, from which the principal offenders only should be excluded, and Mary herself was as little inclined to harshness. Her present desire was to forget all that had past, and take possession of her power for the objects nearest to her heart. Her chief embarrassment for the moment was from the overloyalty of her subjects. The old-fashioned lords and country gentlemen who had attended

A.D. 1553.
July.
His sons,
Bishop
Ridley, and
others, are
imprisoned
also.

The Emperor advises a general pardon, excepting only from it the chief offenders. Mary herself is inclined to mercy.

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.* BACARD. *Grey Friars' Chronicle.*

† Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 30. her with their retainers from Norfolk, remained encamped round Newhall, unable to persuade themselves that they could leave her with safety in the midst of the men who had been the ministers of the usurpation.*

A.D. 1553.
July.

She is still perplexed about her brother's funeral.

She insists that she will restore the mass, and will not recognise the changes made in the minority.

Her closest confidence the queen reserved for Renard. On the 28th of July she sent for him at midnight. On the 2nd of August he was again with her, and the chief subject of her thoughts was still the funeral. ‘She could not have her brother committed to the ground like a dog,’ she said. While her fortunes were uncertain, she had allowed Renard to promise for her that she would make no changes in religion, but ‘she had now told the Lords distinctly that she would not recognise any of the laws which had been passed in the minority,† and she intended to act boldly; timidity would only encourage the people to be insolent;’ ‘the Lords were all quarrelling among themselves, and accusing one another; she could not learn the truth on any point of the late conspiracy; she did not know who were guilty or who were innocent; and, amidst the distracted advices which were urged upon her, she could not tell whether she

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

† She, perhaps, imagined that she was not exceeding her statutable right in the refusal. The 17th of the 28th of Henry VIII. empowered any one of the heirs to the crown named in the king’s will, on arriving at the age of twenty-four, to repeal laws passed, not only in his or her own minority; but under circumstances such as those which had actu-

ally occurred, where the first heir had died before coming of age. The 11th of the 1st of Edward VI. modified the act of Henry, limiting the power of repeal to the sovereign in whose own reign the law to be repealed had been passed. But this act of Edward’s was, itself, passed in a minority, and Mary might urge that she might repeal that as well as any other statute passed in his reign, in virtue of the act of her father.

could safely venture to London or not; but outward acquiescence in the course which she chose to follow she believed that she could compel, and she would govern as God should direct her. The Emperor, she added, had written to her about her marriage, not specifying any particular person, but desiring her to think upon the subject. She had never desired to marry while princess, nor did she desire it now; but if it were for the interests of the Church, she would do whatever he might advise.'

CH. 30.
A.D. 1553.
August 2.

On this last point Renard knew more of the Emperor's intentions than Mary, and was discreetly silent; on other points he used his influence wisely. He constrained her, with Charles's arguments, to relinquish her burial scheme. 'Edward, as a heretic, should have a heretic funeral at Westminster Abbey; she need not be present, and might herself have a mass said for him in the Tower. As to removing to London, in his opinion she had better go thither at once, take possession of her throne, and send Northumberland to trial. Her brother's body ought to be examined also, that it might be ascertained whether he had been poisoned; and, if poisoned, by whom, and for what purpose.'*

Renard
persuades
her that
Edward,
having
been a
heretic,
may not be
buried as a
Catholic.

Mary rarely paused upon a resolution. Making up her mind that, as Renard said, it would be better for her to go to London, she set out thither the following day, Thursday, the 3rd of August. Excitement lent to her hard features

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 30. an expression almost of beauty,* as she rode in the midst of a splendid cavalcade of knights and nobles.
 A.D. 1553. August 3. The queen enters London, and rides with her sister to the Tower,

Elizabeth, escorted by two thousand horse and a retinue of ladies, was waiting to receive her outside the gates. The first in her congratulations, after the proclamation, yet fearful of giving offence, Elizabeth had written to ask if it was the queen's pleasure that she should appear in mourning; but the queen would have no mourning, nor would have others wear it in her presence. The sombre colours which of late years had clouded the court, were to be banished at once and for ever; and with the dark colours, it seemed for a time as if old dislikes and suspicions were at the same time to pass away. The sisters embraced; the queen was warm and affectionate, kissing all the ladies in Elizabeth's train; and side by side the daughters of Henry VIII. rode through Aldgate at seven in the evening, amidst the shouts of the people, the thunder of cannon, and pealing of church bells.† At the Tower gates the old Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, Courtenay, and the Duchess of Somerset were seen kneeling as Mary approached. 'These are my prisoners,' she said, as she alighted from her horse, and stooped and kissed them. Charmed by the enthusiastic reception and by the pleasant disappointment of her anxieties, she could find no room for hard thoughts of any one; so far was she softened, Renard wrote, that she could hardly be brought to consent to the necessary execution

Where the
Duke of
Norfolk,
Gardiner,
and the
Duchess of
Somerset
receive her
kneeling.

* 'La beauté de visage plus que mediocre,' are Renard's words to Charles.

† RENARD; NOAILLES; MACHYN; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*.

of justice. Against Northumberland himself she CH. 30.
had no feeling of vindictiveness, and was chiefly
anxious that he should be attended by a con- A.D. 1553.
fessor; Northampton was certainly to be par- August 3.
pardoned; Suffolk was already free; Northumber- The queen,
land should be pardoned, if possible; and, as to
Lady Jane, justice forbade, she said, that an in-
nocent girl should suffer for the crimes of others.*

The queen,
delighted
with her
reception,
desires to
pardon
every one.

The Emperor had recommended mercy; but he had not advised a general indemnity, as Renard made haste to urge. The Imperialist conception of clemency differed from the queen's; and the same timidity which had first made the ambassadors too prudent, now took the form of measured cruelty. Renard entreated that Lady Jane should not be spared; 'conspirators required to be taught that for the principals in treason there was but one punishment; the duke must die, and the rival queen and her husband must die with him.' 'We set before her'—Renard's own hand is the witness against him—'the examples of Maximus and his son Victor, both executed by the Emperor Theodosius; Maximus, because he had usurped the purple; Victor, because, as the intended heir of his father, he might have been an occasion of danger had he lived.'†

Renard in-
sists that
Lady Jane
and her
husband
must die as
well as
Northum-
berland.

* Renard to Charles V.: | son dict filz Victor, escrivant
Rolls House MSS. | l'histoire que l'on feit mourir le

† Et luy fust proposeé l'ex- | filz pour le scandale et danger
emple de Maximus et Victor son | qu'en eust peu advenir.—Renard
filz que Theodoſe l'Empereur | to Charles V.: *Rolls House*
feit mourir pour s'estre attribué | *MSS.* For the story, see GIB-
le nom d'Empereur par tyrannie | BON, cap. xxvii.

l'avoir voulu continuer en

CH. 30.

A.D. 1553.
August.
Renard is
jealous of
Elizabeth
also,

Looking also, as Renard was already doing, on the scenes which were round him, chiefly or solely as they might affect the interests of his master's son, he had been nervously struck by the entourage which surrounded Elizabeth, and the popularity which she, as well as the queen, was evidently enjoying.

Elizabeth, now passing into womanhood, was the person to whom the affections of the liberal party in England most definitely tended. She was the heir-presumptive to the crown; in matters of religion she was opposed to the mass, and opposed as decidedly to factious and dogmatic Protestantism; while from the caution with which she had kept aloof from political entanglements, it was clear that her brilliant intellectual abilities were not her only or her most formidable gifts. Already she shared the favour of the people with her sister. Let Mary offend them (and in the intended marriage offence would unquestionably have to be given), their entire hearts might be transferred to her. The public finger had pointed to Courtenay as the husband which England desired for the queen. When Courtenay should be set aside by Mary, he might be accepted by Elizabeth; and Elizabeth, it was rumoured, looked upon him with an eye of favour.* On all accounts,

And warns
the queen
against her. therefore, Elizabeth was dangerous. She was a figure on the stage whom Renard would gladly see removed; and a week or two later he bid

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

Tary look to her, watch her, catch her tripping, CH. 30.
good fortune would so permit; 'it was better A.D. 1553.
to prevent than to be prevented.'* August.

The queen did not close her ears to these evil whispers; but for the first few days after she came to the Tower her thoughts were chiefly occupied with religion, and her first active step was to release and restore to their sees the deprived and imprisoned bishops. The first week in August Ponet, by royal order, was ejected from Winchester, Ridley from London, and Scory in Chichester. The see of Durham was reconstituted. Tunstal, Day, and Heath were set at liberty, and returned to their dioceses. The Bishop of Ely was deposed from the chancellorship, and the seals were given to Gardiner. 'On the 5th of August,' says the *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 'at seven o'clock at night, Edmond Bonner came home from the Marshalsea like a bishop, and all the people by the wayside bade him welcome home, both man and woman, and as many of the

The queen
restores the
deprived
bishops.

* Signament sembleroit que vostre majesté ne se deust confier en Madame Elizabeth que bien a point, et discouvrir sur ce qu'elle ne se voit en espoir d'entrer en règne, ne avoir voulu fleshir quant au point de la religion ny ouyr la messe; ce que l'on jugeoit elle deust faire pour le respect de vostre majesté, et pour les courtoisies dont elle use en son endroit encores qu'elle ny eust faict sinon l'assister et l'accompagner. Et davantage l'on peult discouvrir comme elle se maintient en la nouvelle reli-

gion par pratique, pour attirer et gaigner a sa dévotion ceux quilz sont de la dicte religion en s'en aider, si elle avoit intention de maligner; et jaçois l'on se pourroit fourcompter quant à son intention, si est en ce commencement, qu'il est plus sure prévenir que d'estre prévenu et penser a ce que peult advenir; actendu que les object's sont evidens. — Les Ambassadeurs de l'Empereur à Marie, Reine d'Angleterre: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 64-69.

CH. 30.

A.D. 1553.

August.
The bells
of St.
Paul's are
rung for
Bonner.The public
accounts
are ex-
amined.The queen
undertakes
to pay Ed-
ward's
debts.The new
gov-
ern-
ment forms
generally
good inten-
tions,

women as might kissed him; and so he came to Paul's, and knelt on the steps, and said his prayers, and the people rang the bells for joy.*

While Mary was repairing acts of injustice, Gardiner, with Sir William Petre, was looking into the public accounts. The debts of the late government had been reduced, the currency unconsidered, to 190,000*l.*† A doubt had been raised whether, after the attempt to set aside the succession, the queen was bound to take the responsibility of these obligations, but Mary preferred honour to convenience; she promised to pay everything as soon as possible. Further, there remain, partly in Gardiner's hand, a number of hasty notes, written evidently in these same first weeks of Mary's reign, which speak nobly for the intentions with which both Mary and himself were setting generally to work. The expenses of the household were to be reduced to the scale of Henry VII., or the early years of Henry VIII.; the garrisons at Berwick and Calais were to be placed on a more economical footing, the navy reduced, the irregular guard dismissed or diminished. Bribery was to be put an end to in the

* *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, p. 82.

† August, 1553. Debts of the crown. Irish debt, 36,094*l.* 18*s.* Household debts, 14,574*l.* 16*s.* Further household debts, 7450*l.* 5*s.* Berwick debt, with the wages of the officers, 16,639*l.* 18*s.* Calais debt, beside 17,000*l.* of loans and other things, 21,184*l.* 10*s.*

Ordnance Office, 3134*l.* 7*s.* Public works, 3200*l.* Admiralty debt, 3923*l.* 4*s.* Debts in the Office of the Chamber, 17,968*l.* Debts beyond the seas by Sir Thomas Gresham's particular bill, 61,068*l.* Alderney's debt, 3028*l.* Scilly debt, 3071*l.*—MS. *Mary, Domestic*, vol. i. State Paper Office.

courts of Westminster, at quarter sessions, and among justices of the peace; ‘the laws were to be restored to their authority without suffering any matters to be ordered otherwise than as the laws should appoint.* These first essentials having been attended to, the famous or infamous book of sales, grants, and exchanges of the crown lands was to be looked into; the impropriation of benefices was to cease, and decency to be restored to the parish churches, where the grooms and game-keepers should give way to competent ministers; economy, order, justice, and reverence should heal the canker of profligate profanity which had eaten too long into the moral life of England.

A.D. 1553.
August.

In happier times Mary might have been a worthy queen, and Gardiner an illustrious minister;† but

* Note of Things to be attended to : *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. i.

† Another natural feature of these curious days was the arrest of suspected persons; one of whom, Edward Underhill, the Hot Gospeller, has left behind him, in the account of his own adventures, a very vivid picture of the time. Underhill was a yeoman of the guard. He had seen service in the French wars, but had been noted chiefly for the zeal which he had shown in the late reign in hunting Catholics into gaol. He had thus worked his way into court favour. During the brief royalty of Jane Grey, his wife was confined. His child was christened at the Tower church, and Suffolk and Pembroke were ‘gossips,’ and Jane herself was godmother.

The day that Mary was proclaimed, he put out a ballad, which, as he expected, brought him into trouble. ‘The next day,’ he is telling his own story, ‘after the queen was come to the Tower, the foresaid ballad came into the hands of Secretary Bourne, who straightway made inquiry for the said Edward, who dwelt in Lymehurst; which he having intelligence of, sent the sheriff of Middlesex with a company of bills and glaives, who came into my house, being in my bed, and my wife newly laid in childbed. The high constable, whose name is Thomas Joy, dwelled at the house next to me, whom the sheriff brought also with him. He being my very friend, desired the sheriff and his company to stay without for

CH. 30. the fatal superstition which confounded religion with orthodox opinion was too strong for both of them.

A.D. 1553.

August.

Which their
intellectual
misfor-
tunes pre-
vent them
from
executing.

frighting of my wife, and he would go fetch me unto him; who knocked at the door, saying, he must speak with me. I lying so near that I might hear him, called unto him, willing him to come unto me, for that he was always my very friend and earnest in the gospel, who declared unto me that the sheriff and a great company was sent for me. Whereupon I rose and made me ready to come unto him.'

'Sir, said he, I have commandment from the council to apprehend you and bring you unto them.'

'Why, said I, it is now ten of the clock at night; you cannot now carry me unto them.'

'No, sir, said he, you shall go with me to my house in London, where you shall have a bed, and to-morrow I will bring you unto them in the Tower.'

'In the name of God, quoth I, and so went with him, requiring him if I might understand the cause. He said he knew none.'

Underhill, however, conjectured that it was the ballad. He 'was nothing dismayed,' and in the morning went readily to the Tower, where he waited in the presence chamber talking to the pensioners.

Sir Edward Hastings passed through, and as he saw him, 'frowned earnestly.' 'Are you come?' said Hastings: 'we will talk with you ere you part, I warrant you.' They were old

acquaintances. Underhill had been controller of the ordnance at Calais when Lord Huntingdon was in command there. The earl being in bad health, his brother Sir Edward was with him, assisting in the duties of the office; and Underhill, being able to play and sing, had been a frequent visitor at the Government House. The earl, moreover, 'took great delight to hear him reason' with Sir Edward, on points of controversy—chiefly on the real presence—where the controller of the ordnance (according to his own account), would quote Scripture, and Sir Edward would 'swear great oaths,' 'especially by the Lord's foot;' on which Underhill would say, 'Nay, then, it must needs be so, and you prove it with such oaths;' and the earl would laugh and exclaim, 'Brother, give him over, Underhill is too good for you.'

Hastings, it seemed, could not forgive these passages of wit, and Underhill was too smart for them. While he stood waiting, Secretary Bourne came in, 'looking as the wolf at the lamb,' and seeing the man that he had sent for, carried him off into the council room. Hastings was gone, Bedford sat as President, and Bedford,' says Underhill, 'was my friend, for that my chance was to be at the recovery of his son, my Lord Russell, when he was cast into the Thames by Lymehurst, whom I received into my house, and

Edward's body was meanwhile examined. The physicians reported that without doubt he had

Ch. 30.
A.D. 1553.

August.

Edward's

gate him to bed, who was in great peril of his life, the weather being very cold.'

Bedford, however, made no sign of recognition. Bourne read the ballad ; on which Underhill protested that there was no attack on the queen's title in it. No ! Bourne said, but it maintains the queen's title with the help of an arrant heretic, Tyndal. Underhill used the word Papist. Sir John Mason asked what he meant by that : 'Sir,' he says that he replied, 'I think, if you look among the priests in Paul's, you shall find some old mumpimusses there.'

'Mumpimusses, knave, said he, Mumpimusses ! Thou art an heretic knave, by God's blood !

'Yea ! by the mass, said the Earl of Bath, I warrant him an heretic knave indeed.'

'I beseech your honours,' Underhill said, 'speaking to the Lords that sate at the table (for those others stood by and were not of the council), be my good Lords. I have offended no laws. I have served the Queen's Majesty's father and brother long time, and spent and consumed my living therein. I went not forth against her Majesty, notwithstanding I was commanded.'

He was interrupted by Arundel, who said that, 'by his writing,' 'he wished to set them all by the ears.' Hastings re-entered at the moment, telling the council that they must repair to the queen, and the Hot Gospeller was promptly ordered to Newgate.

The sheriff led him through the streets, his friend Joy 'following afar off, as Peter followed by physcians, Christ.' He wrote a few words to his wife at the door of Newgate, asking her to send him 'his nightgown, his Bible, and his lute ;' and then entered the prison, his life in which he goes on to describe.

In the centre of Newgate was 'a great open hall.' 'As soon as it was suppertime,' the board was covered in the same hall. The keeper, whose name was 'Alisander,' with his wife, came and sate down, 'and half a dozen prisoners that were there for felony,' Underhill 'being the first that for religion was sent unto that prison.' One of the felons had served with him in France. 'After supper,' the story continues, 'this good fellow, whose name was Bristow, procured me to have a bed in his chamber, who could play well upon a rebeck. He was a tall fellow, and after one of Queen Mary's guard ; yet a Protestant, which he kept secret, for else, he said, he should not have found such favour as he did at the keeper's hands and his wife's, for to such as loved the gospel they were very cruel. Well, said Underhill, I have sent for my Bible, and, by God's grace, therein shall be my daily exercise ; I will not hide it from them. Sir, said he, I am poor ; but they will bear with you, for they see your estate is to pay well ; and I will shew you the nature and manner of them ; for I have been here a

CH. 30. died of poison,* and there was a thought of

A.D. 1553.

August 6.

indicting the Duke of Northumberland for his murder; but it was relinquished on further inquiry; the poison, if the physicians were right, must have been administered by negligence or

And buried with the forms of the Church of England at Westminster Abbey; the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had so far been left at liberty, read the service; it was the last and saddest function of his public ministry which he was destined to perform. Simulta-

Mass is said at the Tower.

neously, as Mary had determined, requiems were chanted in the Tower chapel; and Gardiner, in the presence of the queen and four hundred persons, sung the mass for the dead with much solemnity. The ceremony was, however, injured by a misfortune; after the gospel the incense was carried round, and the chaplain who bore it was married:

good while. They both do love music very well. Wherefore you with your lute, and I to play with you on my rebeck, will please them greatly. He loveth to be merry, and to drink wine, and she also. If you will bestow upon them, every dinner and supper, a quart of wine and some music, you shall be their white son, and have all the favour they can shew you.'

The honour of being 'white son' to the governor and governess of Newgate was worth aspiring after. Underhill duly provided the desired entertainments. The governor gave him the best room in the prison, with all other admissible indulgences.

'At last,' however, 'the evil

savours, great unquietness, with overmany drafts of air,' threw the poor gentleman into a burning ague. He shifted 'his lodgings,' but to no purpose; the 'evil savours' followed him. The keeper offered him his own parlour, where he escaped from the noise of the prison; but it was near the kitchen, and the smell of the meat was disagreeable. Finally, the wife put him away in her store-closet, amidst her best plate, crockery, and clothes, and there he continued to survive till the middle of September, when he was released on bail through the interference of the Earl of Bedford.—Underhill's Narrative: *Harleian MSS. 425.*

* Supra, Vol. V. p. 512.

Doctor Weston, who was afterwards deprived of the deanery of Windsor for adultery, darted forward and snatched the censer out of the chaplain's hand. 'Shamest thou not to do thine office,' he said, 'having a wife, as thou hast? The queen will not be censed by such as thou.'* Nor was scandal the worst part of it. Elizabeth had been requested to attend, and had refused; angry murmurs and curses against the Bishop of Winchester were heard among the yeomen of the guard; while the queen made no secret of her desire that the example which she had set should be imitated. Renard trembled for the consequences; Noailles anticipated a civil war; twenty thousand men, the latter said, would lose their lives before England would be cured of heresy;† yet Mary had made a beginning, and as she had begun she was resolved that others should continue.

In the Tower she felt her actions under restraint. She was still surrounded by thousands of armed men, the levies of Derby and Hastings, the retainers of Pembroke and Arundel and Bedford; the council were spies upon her actions; the sentinels at the gates were a check upon her visitors. She could receive no one whose business with her was not made public to the Lords, and whose reception they were not pleased to sanction; even Renard was for a time excluded from her, and in her anxiety to see him, she suggested that he might come to her in disguise.‡

CH. 30.
A.D. 1553.
August 6.

The people
murmur,
but Mary
intends to
persevere.

* STEYRE.

† NOAILLES, vol. ii. p. 111.

‡ Monseigneur, je n'ay sceu

trouver moyen jusques à ceste

heure de communiquer avec la

royne, ce que je deliberois faire

CH. 30. Such a thraldom was irksome and inconvenient.

A.D. 1553.
August. She had broken the promise which Renard had been allowed to make for her about religion; she had been troubled, it is easy to believe, with remonstrances, to which she was not likely to have answered with temper; Pembroke absented himself from the presence; he was required to retire and to reduce the number of his followers; the quarrels which began while the queen was at New Hall broke out with worse violence than ever; Lord Derby complained to Renard that those who had saved her crown were treated with neglect, while men like Arundel, Bedford, and Pembroke, who had been parties to the treasons against her, remained in power; Lord Russell was soon after placed under arrest; Pembroke and Winchester were ordered to keep their houses, and the court was distracted with suspicion, discord, and uncertainty.*

From such a scene Mary desired to escape to some place where she could be at least mistress of her own movements; her impatience was quickened by a riot at St. Bartholomew's, where a priest attempted to say mass; and on Saturday, the 12th of August, she removed to Richmond. Her absence encouraged the insubordination of

A riot
breaks out
in London,
and Mary
withdraws
to Rich-
mond.

avec l'occasion des lectres de sa Majesté, si sans suspicion, j'eusse peu avoir accès, que n'a esté possible pour estre les portes en la Tour de Londres où elle este logée, si gardées que n'est possible y entrer que l'on ne soit congneu: elle m'avoit faict dire si je me pouvoys desguiser et

prendre ung manteau, mais il m'a semblé pour le mieux et plus seur d'attendre qu'elle soit a Richemont.—Renard to Charles V.: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. pp. 71, 72.

* Renard to the Emperor: *Rolls House MSS. Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 15.

the people. On Sunday, the 13th, another priest CH. 30.
was attacked at the altar; the vestments were ^{A.D. 1553.}
torn from his back, and the chalice snatched from ^{August 13.}
his hands. Bourne, whom the queen had ap- A Catholic
pointed her chaplain, preached at Paul's Cross. sermon is
A crowd of refugees and English fanatics had col- preached
lected round the pulpit; and when he spoke some- at Paul's
thing in praise of Bonner, and said that he had Cross; a
been unjustly imprisoned,* yells rose of 'Papist, tumult en-
Papist! Tear him down!' a dagger was hurled sues,
at the preacher, swords were drawn; the mayor attempted to interfere, but he could not make his way through the dense mass of the rioters; and Bourne would have paid for his rashness with his life, had not Courtenay, who was a popular favourite, with his mother, the Marchioness of Exeter, thrown themselves on the pulpit steps, while Bradford sprung to his side, and kept the people back till he could be carried off.

But the danger did not end there. The Protestant orators sounded the alarm through London. Meetings were held, and inflammatory placards were scattered about the streets. If religion And the
was to be tampered with, men were heard to say, it was better at once to fetch Northumber- people talk
of releasing
Northum-
berland.

Uncertain on whom she could rely, Mary sent for Renard, who could only repeat his former cautions, and appeal to what had occurred in justification of them. He undertook to pacify

* Renard says it was at these words that the exasperation broke out.

CH. 30. Lord Derby; but in the necessity to which she
 A.D. 1553.
 August 16. was so soon reduced of appealing to him, a foreigner, in her emergencies, he made her feel that she could not carry things with so high a hand. She had a rival in the Queen of Scots, beyond her domestic enemies, whom her wisdom ought to fear; she would ruin herself if she flew in the face of her subjects; and he prevailed so far with her that she promised to take no further steps till the meeting of parliament. After a consultation with the mayor, she drew up a hasty proclamation, granting universal toleration till further orders, forbidding her Protestant and Catholic subjects to interrupt each other's services, and prohibiting at the same time all preaching on either side without license from herself.

The mar-
riage ques-
tion is
again
opened.

Renard persuades the queen to be more cautious.

Being on the spot, the ambassador took the opportunity of again trying Mary's disposition upon the marriage question. His hopes had waned since her arrival in London; he had spoken to Paget, who agreed that an alliance with the Prince of Spain was the most splendid which the queen could hope for; but the time was inopportune, and the people were intensely hostile. The exigencies of the position, he thought, might oblige the queen to yield to wishes which she could not oppose, and accept Lord Courtenay; or possibly her own inclination might set in the same direction; or, again, she might wish to renew her early engagement with the Emperor himself. The same uncertainty had been felt at Brussels; the Bishop of Arras, therefore, had charged Renard to feel his way carefully and make no

blunder. If the queen inclined to the Emperor, Ch. 30.
 he might speak of Philip as more eligible; if ——————
 she fancied Courtenay, it would be useless to interfere—she would only resent his opposition.* Renard obeyed his instructions, and the result was reassuring. When the ambassador mentioned the word ‘marriage,’ the queen began to smile significantly, not once, but many times; she plainly liked the topic: plainly, also, her thoughts were not turning in the direction of any English husband; she spoke of her rank, and of her unwillingness to condescend to a subject; Courtenay, the sole remaining representative of the White Rose except the Poles, was the only Englishman who could in any way be thought suitable for her; but she said that she expected the Emperor to provide a consort for her, and that, being a woman, she could not make the first advances. Renard satisfied himself from her manner that, if the Prince of Spain was proposed, the offer would be most entirely welcome.†

A.D. 1553.
 August 16.
 The queen
 shows that
 she has
 no thoughts
 of Courte-
 nay, and
 will have
 Philip, if
 the Empe-
 ror wishes.

The trials of the conspirators were now resolved upon. The queen was determined to spare Lady Jane Grey, in spite of all which Renard could urge; but the state of London showed that the punishment of the really guilty could no longer be safely delayed. On this point all parties in the council were agreed. On Friday, the 18th of August, therefore, a court of peers was formed

* Car si elle y avoit fantesie, elle ne laisseroit, si elle este du naturel des autres femmes, de passer oultre, et si se ressentiroit à jamais de ce que vous en pourriez avoir dit.—Arras to

Renard: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. p. 77.

† Renard to the Bishop of Arras: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. p. 79. Renard to Charles V., August 16: *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 30. in Westminster Hall, with the aged Duke of Norfolk for High Steward, to try John Dudley A.D. 1553.
 August 16. Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Warwick, The Duke of Northumberland, Lord Warwick, and the Marquis of Northampton for high treason. Forty-four years before, as the curious remarked, the father of Norfolk had sat on the commission which tried the father of Northumberland for the same crime.

Duke of Northum-
berland,
Lord War-
wick, and
the Mar-
quis of
Northamp-
ton are
brought to
trial.

Northum-
berland
pleads
guilty, but
raises
points in
his defence
which
are not
allowed.

The indictments charged the prisoners with levying war against their lawful sovereign.

Northumberland, who was called first to the bar, pleaded guilty of the acts which were laid against him, but he submitted two points to the consideration of the court.

1. Whether, having taken the field with a warrant under the Great Seal, he could be lawfully accused of treason.

2. Whether those peers from whom he had received his commission, and by whose letters he had been directed in what he had done, could sit upon his trial as his judges.

The Great Seal, he was answered briefly, was the seal of a usurper, and could convey no warrant to him. If the Lords were as guilty as he said, yet, 'so long as no attainder was on record against them, they were persons able in law to pass upon any trial, and not to be challenged but at the prince's pleasure.'*

The duke bowed and was silent.

* *Queen Jane and Queen Mary.* to the Emperor, as an illustration of England and the English constitution of the court amused character.—*Rolls House MSS.* Renard, who commented upon it.

Northampton and Warwick came next, and, Ch. 30.
like Northumberland, confessed to the indictment.

Northampton, however, pleaded, in his defence, A.D. 1553.
that he had held no public office during the crisis; August 18.
that he had not been present at the making of Edward's device, and had been amusing himself hunting in the country.* Warwick, with proud sadness, said merely, that he had followed his father, and would share his father's fortunes; if his property was confiscated, he hoped that his debts would be paid.†

But Northampton had indisputably been in the field with the army, and, as his judges perfectly well knew, had been, with Suffolk, the duke's uniform supporter in his most extreme measures; the queen had resolved to pardon him; but the court could not recognise his excuse. Norfolk rose, in a few words pronounced the usual sentence, and broke his wand; the cold glimmering edge of the Tower axe was turned towards the prisoners, and the peers rose. Northumberland, before he was led away, fell upon his knees; his children were young, he said, and had acted under orders from himself; to them let the queen show mercy; for himself he had his peace to make with Heaven; he entreated for a few days of life, and the assistance of a confessor; if two of the council would come to confer with him, he had important

Northum-
berland,
Northamp-
ton, and
Warwick
are sen-
tenced to
die.

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.* Queen Jane and Queen Mary, Appendix. Baoardo says, Northam-
pton pleaded—Ch'egli non si era mai messo in governo et che sempre attese alla caccia.
† Ibid.

CH. 30. secrets of state to communicate; and, finally, he
 A.D. 1553.
 August 19. begged that he might die by the axe like a noble-
 man.*

Four other
 prisoners
 are tried,
 and also
 sentenced.

On the 19th, Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, and Sir Thomas Palmer were tried before a special commission. Dudley had gone with the treasonable message to France; the three others were the boldest and most unscrupulous of the duke's partisans, while Palmer was also especially hated for his share in the death of Somerset. These four also pleaded guilty, and were sentenced, Palmer only scornfully telling the commissioners that they were traitors as well as he, and worse than he.†

Three out
 of the
 seven con-
 demned are
 to be exe-
 cuted.

Seven had been condemned; three only, the duke, Sir John Gates, and Palmer, were to suffer.

Crime alone makes death terrible; in the long list of victims whose bloody end, at stake or scaffold, the historian of England in the sixteenth century has to relate, two only showed signs of cowardice, and one of those was a soldier and a nobleman, who, in a moment of extreme peril, four years before, had kissed swords with his comrades, and had sworn to conquer the insurgents at Norwich, or die with honour.

The Duke of Northumberland, who since that time had lived very emphatically without God

* *Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 17. Renard says that he asked the council to intercede for his life.

† So Renard states. The author of the *Chronicle of*

Queen Mary says merely that he denied that he had borne arms against the queen, but admitted that he had been with the army.

in the world, had not lived without religion. CH. 30.
 He had affected religion, talked about religion,
 played with religion, till fools and flatterers had told him that he was a saint; and now, in his extreme need, he found that he had trifled with forms and words, till they had grown into a hideous hypocrisy. The Infinite of death was opening at his feet, and he had no faith, no hope, no conviction, but only a blank and awful horror, and perhaps he felt that there was nothing left for him but to fling himself back in agony into the open arms of superstition. He had asked to speak with some member of the council; he had asked for a confessor. In Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, he found both.

After the sentence Gardiner visited him in Northumberland, in an interview with Gardiner, protests that he has always been a Catholic, and begs for life. Gardiner intercedes for him with some effect;

the Tower, where he poured out his miserable story; he was a Catholic, he said, he always had been a Catholic; he had believed nothing of all the doctrines for which he had pretended to be so zealous under Edward. ‘Alas!’ he cried, ‘is there no help for me?’ ‘Let me live but a little longer to do penance for my many sins.’ Gardiner’s heart was softened at the humiliating spectacle; he would speak to the queen, he said, and he did speak, not wholly without success; he may have judged rightly, that the living penitence of the Joshua of the Protestants would have been more useful to the Church than his death.* Already Mary had expressed a wish

* The authority for this story | was present at the interview. Parsons the Jesuit, who learnt | Parsons says, indeed, that Mary it from one of the council who | would have spared the duke; but

CH. 30. that, if possible, the wretched man should be spared; and he would have been allowed to live,
 A.D. 1553.
 August 19. except for the reiterated protests of Renard in his own name and in the Emperor's.

But his
death is at
last re-
solved on.

It was decided at last that he should die; and a priest was assigned him to prepare his soul. Doctor Watts or Watson, the same man whom Cranmer long ago had set in the stocks at Canterbury, took charge of Palmer and the rest—to them, as rough soldiers, spiritual consolation from a priest of any decent creed was welcome.

The executions were fixed originally for Monday, the 21st; but the duke's conversion was a triumph to the Catholic cause too important not to be dwelt upon a little longer. Neither Northampton, Warwick, Andrew Dudley, or Sir Henry Gates were aware that they were to be respited, and, as all alike availed themselves of the services of a confessor and the forms of the Catholic faith, their compliance could be made an instrument of a public and edifying lesson. The lives of those who were to suffer were prolonged for twenty-four hours. On Monday morning 'certain of the citizens of London' were requested to be in attendance at the Tower chapel, where Northumberland, Northampton, Dudley, Henry Gates, and Palmer were brought in; and, 'first kneeling

Northum-
berland,
with the
other pri-
soners,
hears mass
in the
Tower.

that some one wrote to the Emperor, and that the Emperor insisted that he should be put to death. This could not be, because there was no time for letters to pass and repass between Brussels and London, in the interval be-

tween the sentence and the execution; but Renard says distinctly that Mary did desire to pardon him, and that he was himself obliged to exert his influence to prevent it.

down, every one of them, upon his knees, they CH. 30.
heard mass, saying devoutly, with the bishop,* —————
every one of them, *Confiteor.*' A.D. 1553.
August 21.

'After the mass was done, the duke rose up, and looked back upon my lord marquis, and came unto him, asking them all forgiveness, the one after the other, upon their knees, one to another; and the one did heartily forgive the other. And then they came, every one of them, before the altar, every one of them kneeling, and confessing to the bishop that they were the same men in the faith according as they had confessed to him before, and that they all would die in the Catholic faith.' When they had all received the sacrament, they rose and turned to the people, and the duke said:—

'Truly, good people, I profess here before you They make
all, that I have received the sacrament according public pro-
to the true Catholic faith: and the plague that fession of
is upon the realm and upon us now is that we the Catho-
have erred from the faith these sixteen years; and lic faith,
this I protest unto you all from the bottom of my heart.'

Northampton, with the rest, 'did affirm the same with weeping tears.' †

Among the spectators were observed the sons of the Duke of Somerset.

In exhibiting to the world the humiliation of the professors of the gospel, the Catholic party enjoyed a pardonable triumph. Northumberland,

And the
duke again
prays for
mercy.

* GARDINER.

† *Harleian MSS.* 284. Compare the account of the chronicler.
Queen Jane and Queen Mary, pp. 18, 19.

CH. 30. in playing a part in the pageant, was hoping to
 ——————
 A.D. 1553.
 August 22. save his wretched life. When it was over he
 wrote a passionate appeal to Arundel.

^{He prays for life, though but he prays in} ‘Alas, my lord,’ he said, ‘is my crime so heinous as no redemption but my blood can wash away the spots thereof? An old proverb there is, and that most true—A living dog is better than a dead lion; oh that it would please her good Grace to give me life, yea, the life of a dog, if I might but live and kiss her feet, and spend both life and all in her honourable service.’

But Arundel could not save him—would not have saved him, perhaps, had he been able—and he had only to face the end with such resolution as he could command.

The next morning, at nine o’clock, Warwick and Sir John Gates heard mass in the Tower chapel; the two Seymours were again present with Courtenay; and before Gates received the sacrament, he said a few words of regret to the latter for his long imprisonment, of which he admitted himself in part the cause.* On leaving Warwick in the chapel Warwick was taken back to his room, respite. and learned that he was respite. Gates joined Palmer, who was walking with Watson in the garden, and talking with the groups of gentlemen who were collected there. Immediately after, the duke was brought out. ‘Sir John,’ he said to Gates, ‘God have mercy on us; forgive me as I forgive you, although you and your coun-

* ‘Not for any hatred towards you,’ he added, ‘but for fear that harm might come thereby to my late young master.’—*Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 20.

cil have brought us hither.' 'I forgive you, my CH. 30.
Lord,' Gates answered, 'as I would be forgiven; A.D. 1553.
yet it was you and your authority that was the August 22.
only original cause of all.' They bowed each. The duke,
The duke passed on, and the procession moved Sir John
forward to Tower-hill. Gates, and Sir Thomas
Palmer,
are led to
Tower-hill.

The last words of a worthless man are in themselves of little moment; but the effect of the dying speech of Northumberland lends to it an artificial importance. Whether to the latest moment he hoped for his life, or whether, divided between atheism and superstition, he thought, if any religion was true, Romanism was true, and it was prudent not to throw away a chance, who can tell? At all events, he mounted the scaffold with Heath, the Bishop of Worcester, at his side; and then deliberately said to the crowd, that his rebellion and his present fall were owing to the false preachers who had led him to err from the Catholic faith of Christ; the fathers and the saints had ever agreed in one doctrine; the present generation were the first that had dared to follow their private opinions; and in England and in Germany, where error had taken deepest root, there had followed war, famine, rebellion, misery, tokens all of them of God's displeasure. Therefore, as they loved their country, as they valued their souls, he implored his hearers to turn, And he im-
plies them all of them, and turn at once, to the Church which to return
they had left; in which Church he, from the to the faith
bottom of his heart, avowed his own steadfast of their
belief. For himself he called them all to witness fathers.
that he died in the one true Catholic faith; to

CH. 30. which, if he had been brought sooner, he would not have been in his present calamity.

A.D. 1553.

August 22. He then knelt; 'I beseech you all,' he said again, 'to believe that I die in the Catholic faith.' He repeated the *Miserere* psalm, the psalm *De Profundis*, and the *Paternoster*. The executioner, as usual, begged his pardon. 'I have deserved a thousand deaths,' he muttered. He made the sign of the cross upon the sawdust, and kissed it, then laid down his head, and perished.

The effect
of his apostacy.

The shame of the apostacy shook down the frail edifice of the Protestant constitution, to be raised again in suffering, as the first foundations of it had been laid, by purer hands and nobler spirits.* In his better years Northum-

* Lady Jane Grey spoke a few memorable words on the duke's conduct at the scaffold. 'On Tuesday, the 29th of August,' says the writer of the *Chronicle of Queen Mary*, 'I dined at Partridge's house (in the Tower) with my Lady Jane, she sitting at the board's-end, Partridge, his wife, and my Lady's gentlewoman. We fell in discourse of religion. I pray you, quoth she, have they mass in London. Yea, forsooth, quoth I, in some places. It may so be, quoth she. It is not so strange as the sudden conversion of the late duke; for who could have thought, said she, he would have so done? It was answered her, perchance he thereby hoped to have had his pardon. Pardon! quoth she, woe worth him! He hath brought me and our stock in most miserable

calamity by his exceeding ambition; but for the answering that he hoped for life by his turning, though other men be of that opinion, I utterly am not. For what man is there living, I pray you, although he had been innocent, that would hope of life in that case, being in the field in person against the queen, as general, and after his taking so hated and evil spoken of by the Commons; and at his coming into prison, so wondered at as the like was never heard by any man's time. Who can judge that he should hope for pardon whose life was odious to all men? But what will ye more? Like as his life was wicked and full of dissimulation, so was his end thereafter. I pray God I view no friend of mine die so. Should I, who am young and in my few years, forsake my faith for

berland had been a faithful subject and a fearless soldier, and, with a master's hand over him, he might have lived with integrity, and died with honour. Opportunity tempted his ambition—ambition betrayed him into crime—and, given over to his lower nature, he climbed to the highest round of the political ladder, to fall and perish like a craven. He was one of those many men who can follow worthily, yet cannot lead; and the virtue of the beginning was not less real than the ignominy of the end.

Gates was the second sufferer. He, too, spoke in the same key. He had been a great reader of Scripture, he said, but he had not read it to be edified, but to be seditious—to dispute, to interpret it after his private affection; to him, therefore, the honey had been poison, and he warned all men how they followed his ill example; God's holy mysteries were no safe things to toy or play with. Gates, in dying, had three strokes of an axe;—‘Whether,’ says an eyewitness,* ‘it was by his own request or no was doubtful’—remarkable words: as if the everlasting fate of the soul depended on its latest

the love of life? Nay, God forbid! Much more he should not, whose fatal course, although he had lived his just number of years, could not have long continued. But life was sweet, it appeared; so he might have lived, you will say, he did not care how; indeed, the reason is good; for he that would have

lived in chains to have had his life, by like would leave no other means unattempted. But God be merciful to us, for he saith, whoso denyeth him before men, he will not know him in his Father's kingdom.’—*Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 24.

* *Harleian MSS.* 284.

CH. 30.
A.D. 1553.
August 22.

CH. 30. emotion, and repentance could be intensified by
 the conscious realization of death.

A.D. 1553.
 August 22. Last came Sir Thomas Palmer, in whom, to judge by his method of taking leave of life, there was some kind of nobleness. It was he who led the cavalry forlorn hope, at Haddington, when the supplies were thrown in for the garrison.

He leapt upon the scaffold, red with the blood of his companions. ‘Good morning to you all, good people,’ he said, looking round him with a smile; ‘ye come hither to see me die, and to see what news I have; marry, I will tell you; I have seen more in yonder terrible place [he pointed towards the Tower] than ever I saw before throughout all the realms that ever I wandered in; for there I have seen God, I have seen the world, and I have seen myself; and when I beheld my life, I saw nothing but slime and clay, full of corruption; I saw the world nothing else but vanity, and all the pleasures and treasures thereof naught worth; I saw God omnipotent, his power infinite, his mercy incomprehensible; and when I saw this, I most humbly submitted myself unto him, beseeching him of mercy and pardon, and I trust he hath forgiven me; for he called me once or twice before, but I would not turn to him, but even now by this sharp kind of death he hath called me unto him. I trust the wings of his mercy shall spread over me and save me; and I do here confess, before you all, Christ to be the very Son of God the Father, born of the Virgin Mary, which came into the world to fulfil the law for us, and to

Sir Thomas Palmer dies penitent, confessing the common faith of Catholics and Protestants.

bear our offences on his back, and suffered his CH. 30.
passion for our redemption, by the which I trust —
to be saved.'

A.D. 1553.
August 24.

Like his fellow-sufferers, Palmer then said a few prayers, asked the queen's forgiveness, knelt, and died.

Stunned by the apostacy on the scaffold of the man whom they had worshipped as a prophet, the ultra-faction among the Protestants became now powerless. The central multitude, whose belief was undefined, yielded to the apparent sentence of Heaven upon a cause weakened by unsuccessful treason, and disavowed in his death by its champion. Edward had died on the anniversary of the execution of More; God, men said, had visited his people, and 'the Virgin Mary' had been set upon the throne for their redemption.* Dr. Watson, on the 20th of August, preached at Paul's Cross under a guard of soldiers; on the 24th, two days after the scene on Tower Hill, so little was a guard necessary, that mass was said in St. Paul's Church in Latin, with matins and vespers. The crucifix was replaced in the roodloft, the high altar was re-decorated, the real presence was defended from the pulpit, and, except from the refugees, not a murmur was heard.† Catching this favourable opportunity, the queen charmed the country with the announcement that the second portion of the last subsidy granted by

The Protestant spirit is broken.
The Catholic preachers are no more disturbed.
The queen remits part of the last subsidy.

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

† *Ibid.*

CH. 30.

A.D. 1553.

August.

The remaining prisoners are pardoned and promised pardon,

And Mary is again popular.

parliament should not be collected ; she gave her word that the currency at the earliest moment should be thoroughly restored ; while she gained credit on all sides for the very moderate vengeance with which she appeared to be contenting herself. Ridley only, Renard wrote, on the 9th of September, would now be executed ; the other prisoners were to be all pardoned. The enthusiasm was slightly abated, indeed, when it was announced that their forgiveness would not be wholly free. Montague and Bromley, on their release from the Tower, were fined 700*l.* a-piece. Suffolk, Northampton, and other noblemen and gentlemen, as their estates would bear. But, to relieve the burdens of the people at the expense of those who had reaped the harvest of the late spoliations was, on the whole, a legitimate retribution ; the moneyed men were pleased with the recognition of Edward's debts, and provided a loan of 25,000 crowns for the present necessities of the government. London streets rang again with shouts of 'God save the Queen ;' and Mary recovered a fresh instalment of popularity to carry her a few steps further.*

The refugees were the first difficulty. They were too numerous to imprison ; and the most influential among them—men like Peter Martyr—having come to England on the invitation of the late government, it was neither just nor honourable to hand them over to their own sove-

* NOAILLES; RENARD.

reigns. But both Mary and her Flemish adviser CH. 30.
were anxious to see them leave the country as A.D. 1553.
quickly as possible. The Emperor recommended
a general intimation to be given out, that crimi-
nals of all kinds taking refuge in England would
be liable to seizure, offences against religion
being neither specially mentioned nor specially
excepted.* The foreign preachers were ordered
to depart by proclamation; and Peter Martyr,
who had left Oxford, and was staying with
Cranmer at Lambeth, expecting an arrest, re-
ceived, instead of it, a safe-conduct, of which he
instantly availed himself. The movements of
others were quickened with indirect menaces;
while Gardiner told Renard, with much self-
satisfaction, that a few messages desiring some
of them to call upon him at his house had given
them wings.†

The foreign
preachers
receive
orders to
leave the
country.

Finding her measures no longer opposed, the The queen
queen refused next to recognise the legality of will not re-
the marriage of the clergy. Married priests cognise the
should either leave their wives or leave their marriage of
benefices; and on the 29th of August, Gar-
diner, Bonner, Day, and Tunstal, late prisoners
in the Tower, were appointed commissioners to
examine into the conditions of their episcopal
brethren. Convocation was about to meet, and
must undergo a preliminary purification. Un-
happy convocation! So lately the supreme legis-
lative body in the country, it was now patched,

* Renard to Queen Mary: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. p. 65.

† Renard to Charles V., September 9: *Rolls House MSS.*

Ch. 30. clipped, mended, repaired, or altered, as the secular government put on its alternate hues.
 A.D. 1553. August. The bench of bishops is purified.

The Protestant bishops had accepted their offices on Protestant terms—*Quamdiu se bene gesserint*, on their good behaviour; and, with the assistance of so pliant a clause, a swift clearance was effected. Barlow, to avoid expulsion, resigned Bath. Paul Bush retreated from Bristol. Hooper, ejected from Worcester by the restoration of Heath, was deprived of Gloucester for heresy and marriage, and, being a dangerous person, was committed on the 1st of September to the Fleet. Ferrars, of St. David's, left in prison by Northumberland for other pretended offences, was deprived on the same grounds, but remained in confinement. Bird, having a wife, was turned out of Chester; Archbishop Holgate out of York. Coverdale, Ridley, Scory, and Ponet had been already disposed of. The bench was wholesomely swept.*

* Some of the Protestant bishops (Cranmer, Hooper, Ridley, and Ferrars were admirable exceptions) had taken care of themselves in the seven years of plenty. At the time of the deposition of the Archbishop of York, an inventory was taken of the personal property which was then in his possession. He had 'five houses, three very well provided, two meetly well.' At his house at Battersea he had, of coined gold, 300*l.*; plate gilt and parcel gilt, 1600 oz. Mitre, gold, with two pendants set with very fine diamonds, sapphires, and balists, and other stones and pearls, weight 125 oz.; six great

gold rings, with very fine sapphires, emeralds, diamonds, turquoises. 'At Cawood he had of money 900*l.*; mitres, 2. • Plate gilt and parcel gilt, 770 oz.; broken cross of silver gilt, 46 oz.; two thousand five hundred sheep; two Turkey carpets, as big and as good as any subject had; a chest full of copes and vestments. Household stores: wheat, 200 quarters; malt, 500 quarters; oats, 60 quarters; wine, 5 or 6 tuns; fish and ling, 6 or 7 hundred; horses at Cawood, four or five score; harness and artillery sufficient for 7 score men.'—STRYPE'S *Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 440.

The English Protestant preachers, seeing that priests everywhere held themselves licensed *ex officio* to speak as they pleased from the pulpit, began themselves also, in many places, to disobey the queen's proclamation. They were made immediately to feel their mistake, and were brought to London to the Tower, the Marshalsea, or the Fleet, to the cells left vacant by their opponents. Among the rest came one who had borne no share in the late misdoings, but had long foreseen the fate to which those doings would bring him and many more. When Latimer was sent for, he was at Stamford. Six hours' notice was given him of his intended arrest; and so obviously his escape was desired, that the pursuivant who brought the warrant left him to obey it at his leisure; his orders, he said, were not to wait. But Latimer had business in England. While the fanatics who had provoked the catastrophe were slinking across the Channel from its consequences, Latimer determined to stay at home, and help to pay the debts which they had incurred. He went quietly to London, appeared before the council, where his 'demeanour' was what they were pleased to term 'seditious,'* and was committed to the Tower. 'What, my friend,' he said to a warder who was an old acquaintance there, 'how do you? I am come to be your neighbour again.' Sir Thomas Palmer's rooms in the garden were assigned for his lodging. In the winter he was left without a fire, and, grow-

A.D. 1553.
September.
Protestant
clergy are
impris-
oned.

Sept. 4.
Latimer
has an op-
portunity
of escaping,
but he pre-
fers to re-
main,

And is sent
to the
Tower.

* *Privy Council Register, MS. Mary.*

CH. 30. ing infirm, he sent a message to the Lieutenant
 A.D. 1553.
 September. of the Tower to look better after him, or he
 should give him the slip yet.*

And there was another besides Latimer who would not fly when the chance was left open to him. Archbishop Cranmer had continued at Lambeth unmolested, yet unpardoned; his conduct with respect to the letters patent had been more upright than the conduct of any other member of the council by whom they had been signed; and on this ground, therefore, an exception could not easily be made in his disfavour. But his friends had interceded vainly to obtain the queen's definite forgiveness for him; treason might be forgotten; the divorce of Catherine of Arragon could never be forgotten. So he waited on, watching the reaction gathering strength, and knowing well the point to which it tended. In the country the English service was set aside and the mass restored with but little disturbance. No force had been used or needed; the Catholic majorities among the parishioners had made the change for themselves. The archbishop's friends came to him for advice; he recommended them to go abroad: he was urged to go himself while there was time; he said, 'It would be in no ways fitting for him to go away, considering the post in which he was; and to show that he was not afraid to own all the changes that were by his means made in religion in the last reign.'†

Neither was it fitting for him to sit by in

Cranmer
urges
others to
fly. He
himself
will not
fly,

* Foxe.

† Strype's *Cranmer*.

silence. The world, misconstruing his inaction, Ch. 30.

believed him false like Northumberland; the world reported that he had restored mass at Canterbury; the world professed to have ascertained that he had offered to sing a requiem at Edward's funeral. In the second week of September, therefore, he made a public offer, in the form of a letter to a friend, to defend the communion service, and all the alterations for which he was responsible, against any one who desired to impugn them; he answered the stories against himself with a calm denial; and, though the letter was not printed, copies in manuscript were circulated through London so numerously that the press, said Renard, would not have sent out more.*

A.D. 1553.
September.
Nor will he
look on
with si-
lence at the
restoration
of the
mass.

He under-
takes
the open
defence of
the com-
munion
service.

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.* In these late times, when men whose temper has not been tried by danger, feel themselves entitled, nevertheless, by their own innocence of large errors, to sit in judgment on the greatest of their forefathers, Cranmer has received no tender treatment. Because, in the near prospect of a death of agony, his heart for a moment failed him, the passing weakness has been accepted as the key to his life, and he has been railed at as a coward and a sycophant. Considering the position of the writer, and the circumstances under which it was issued, I regard the publication of this letter as one of the bravest actions ever deliberately ventured by man.

Let it be read, and speak for itself.

'As the devil, Christ's antient adversary, is a liar and the father of lying, even so hath he stirred his servants and members to persecute Christ and his true word and religion, which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present. For whereas the most noble prince of famous memory, King Henry VIII., seeing the great abuses of the Latin masses, reformed some things therein in his time, and also our late sovereign lord King Edward VI. took the same wholly away, for the manifold errors and abuses thereof, and restored in the place thereof Christ's holy supper, according to Christ's own institution, and as the Apostles in the primitive Church used the

CH. 30.

A.D. 1553.
September.
The arch-
bishop is
sent to the
Tower,

And the
mass is
generally
restored.

The challenge was answered by an immediate summons before the council; the archbishop was accused of attempting to excite sedition among the people, and was forthwith committed to the Tower to wait, with Ridley and Latimer, there, till his fate should be decided on. Meantime the eagerness with which the country generally availed itself of the permission to restore the Catholic ritual, proved beyond a doubt that, except in London and a few large towns, the popular feeling was with the queen. The English people had no affection for the Papacy. They

same in the beginning, the devil goeth about by lying to overthrow the Lord's holy supper, and to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device. And to bring the same more clearly to pass, some have abused the name of me, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, bruizing abroad that I have set up the mass at Canterbury, and that I offered to say mass before the Queen's Highness at Paul's Cross, and I wot not where. I have been well exercised these twenty years, to suffer and to bear evil reports and lies, and have not been much grieved thereat, and have borne all things quietly; yet where untrue reports and lies turn to the hindrance of God's truth, they be in no ways to be tolerated and suffered. Wherefore these be to signify to the world that it was not I that did set up the mass at Canterbury, but a false, flat-

tering, lying, and dissembling monk, which caused the mass to be set up there without my advice and counsel: and as for offering myself to say mass before the Queen's Highness, or in any other place, I never did, as her Grace knoweth well. But if her Grace will give me leave, I shall be ready to prove against all that will say the contrary, that the Communion-book, set forth by the most innocent and godly prince King Edward VI., in his High Court of Parliament, is conformable to the order which our Saviour Christ did both observe and command to be observed, which his Apostles and primitive Church used many years; whereas the mass in many things not only hath no foundation of Christ, his Apostles, nor the primitive Church, but also is contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible blasphemies.'

did not wish for the re-establishment of the religious orders, or the odious domination of the clergy. But the numerical majority among them did desire a celibate priesthood, the ceremonies which the custom of centuries had sanctified, and the ancient faith of their fathers, as reformed by Henry VIII. The rights of conscience had found no more consideration from the Protestant doctrinalists than from the most bigoted of the persecuting prelates; and the facility with which the professors of the gospel had yielded to moral temptations, had for the time inspired moderate men with much distrust for them and for their opinions.

CH. 30.
A.D. 1553.
September.

Could Mary have been contented to pursue her victory no further, she would have preserved the hearts of her subjects; and the reaction, left to complete its own tendencies, would in a few years, perhaps, have accomplished in some measure her larger desires. But few sovereigns have understood less the effects of time and forbearance. She was deceived by the rapidity of her first success; she flattered herself that, difficult though it might be, she could build up again the ruined hierarchy, could compel the holders of Church property to open their hands, and could reunite the country to Rome. Before she had been three weeks on the throne, she had received, as will be presently mentioned, a secret messenger from the Vatican; and she had opened a correspondence with the Pope, entreating him, as an act of justice to herself and to those who

But Mary
mistakes
the mean-
ing of her
success,
and endea-
vours to
press it
further.

CH. 30. had remained true to their Catholic allegiance, to remove the interdict.*

A.D. 1553.

September.

Other actors in the great drama which was approaching were already commencing their parts.

Reginald Pole having attempted in vain to recover a footing in England on the accession of Edward, having seen his passionate expectations from the Council of Trent melt into vapour, and Germany confirmed in heresy by the Peace of Passau, was engaged, in the summer of 1553, at a convent on the Lago di Garda, in re-editing his book against Henry VIII., with an intended dedication to Edward, of whose illness he was ignorant. The first edition, on the failure of his attempt to raise a Catholic crusade against his country, had been withdrawn from circulation; the world had not received it favourably, and there was a mystery about the publication which it is difficult to unravel. In the interval between the first despatch of the book into England as a private letter in the summer of 1536, and the appearance of it in print at Rome in the winter of 1538-9, it was rewritten, as I have already stated, enlarged, and divided into parts. In a letter of apology which Pole wrote to Charles V., in the summer or early autumn of 1538,† he spoke of that division as having been executed by himself;‡ he said that he had kept

Reginald
Pole re-
 edits his
book
against
Henry
VIII.

The history
of the pre-
vious edi-
tion is dif-
ficult to
unravel.

* Renard to Charles V., September 9: *Rolls House MSS.*

† Before his embassy to Spain.

‡ Opus in quatuor libros sum partitus.

his book secret till the Church had spoken; but CH. 30.
Paul having excommunicated Henry, he could
no longer remain silent; he dwelt at length on
the history of the work which he was then
editing,* and he sent a copy at the same time
with a letter, or he wrote a letter with the intention
of sending a copy, to James V. of Scotland.†

A.D. 1553.
September.

But Charles had refused to move; the book injured Henry not at all, and injured fatally those who were dear to Pole; he checked the circulation of the copies, and he declared to the Cardinal of Naples that it had been published only at the command of the Pope—that his own anxiety had been for the suppression of it.‡ Thirteen years after this, however, writing to Edward VI., he forgot that he had described himself to Charles as being himself engaged in the publication; and he assured the young king that he had never thought of publishing the book, that he had abhorred the very thought of publishing it; that it was prepared, edited, and printed by his friends at Rome during his own absence;§ now, at

* 'Scripta quae nunc edo,' are his own words in the apology, and therefore in the third volume of this History, p. 308, I said that he published his book himself. There is no doubt, from the context, that in the word *scripta* he referred to that book and to no other.

† 'Eum ad te librum Catholice princeps nunc mitto, et sub nomine tui suspiciis cuius te strenuum pietatis ministrum præbes in lucem exire volo.'—Epistola

ad Regem Scottie: POLI Epistole,
vol. i. p. 174.

‡ 'Qui si postea editus fuit magis id aliorum voluntate et illius qui mihi imperare potuit quam mea est factum, mea vero fuit ut impressus suppressetur.'—Ibid. vol. iv. p. 85.

§ 'Nam cum ad urbem ex Hispania rediens libros injussu meo typis excusos reperisset, toto volumine amicorum studio et operâ non sine ejus auctoritate qui jus imperandi haberet

CH. 30. length, he found himself obliged in his own person to give it forth, because an edition was in preparation elsewhere from one of the earlier copies; and he selected the son of Henry as the person to whom he could most becomingly dedicate the libel against his father's memory.

A.D. 1553.
September.
The new
edition to
be dedi-
cated to
Edward.

On the ar-
rival at
Rome of
the news
of Mary's
accession,
Pole is
named
legate to
England.

Edward did not live to receive this evidence of Pole's good feeling. He died before the edition was completed; and as soon as Northumberland's failure and Mary's accession were known at Rome, England was looked upon in the Consistory as already recovered to the faith, and Pole was chosen by the unanimous consent of the cardinals as the instrument of the reconciliation. The account of the proclamation of the queen was brought to the Vatican on the 6th

*in plures libros disposito quod
ego non feceram quippe qui de
ejus editione nunquam cogitäs-
sem,' &c.*

'Quid aliud hoc significavit
nisi me ab his libris divulgandis
penitus abhorruisse ut certe ab-
horriui.'—Epistola ad Edwardum
Sextum: POLI *Epistole*. The
book being the sole authority
for some of the darkest charges
against Henry VIII., the his-
tory of it is of some importance.
See vol. iv. of this history,
appendix.

This was not the only in-
stance in which his recollection
of his own conduct was some-
thing treacherous. In the apology
to Charles V., speaking of a war
against Henry, he had said: 'Tem-
pus venisse video, ad te primum
missus, deinde ad Regem Chris-

tianissimum, ut hujus scelera
per se quidem minime obscura
detegam, et te Cæsar a bello
Turcico abducere coner et quan-
tum possum suadeam ut arma
tua eo convertas si huic tanto
malo aliter mederi non possis.'
For thus 'levying war against
his country,' Pole had been at-
tainted. The name of traitor
grated upon him. To Edward,
therefore, he wrote: 'I invited
the two sovereigns rather to win
back the king, by the ways of
love and affection, as a fallen
friend and brother, than to assail
him with arms as an enemy.
This I never desired, nor did I
urge any such conduct upon
them. *Hoc ego nunquam pro-
fecto volui neque cum illis egi.*'
—Epistola ad Edwardum Sex-
tum: Ibid.

of August by a courier from Paris; the Pope CH. 30.
in tears of joy drew his commission and dis-
patched it on the instant to the Lago di Garda;
and on the 9th Pole himself wrote to Mary to
say that he had been named legate, and waited
her orders to fly to England. He still clung to
his conviction that the revolution in all its parts
had been the work of a small faction, and that
he had but himself to set his foot upon the shore
to be received with an ovation; his impulse
was therefore to set out without delay; but the
recollection, among other things, that he was
attainted by act of parliament, forced him to
delay unwillingly till he received formal permis-
sion to present himself.

A.D. 1553.
August.

Anxious for authentic information as to the state of England and the queen's disposition, Julius had before dispatched also a secret agent, Commendone, afterwards a cardinal, with instructions to make his way to London to communicate with Mary, and if possible to learn her intentions from her own lips. Rapid movement was possible in Europe even with the roads of the sixteenth century. Commendone was probably sent from Rome as soon as Edward was known to be dead; he was in London, at all events, on the 8th of August,* disguised as an Italian gentleman in search of property which he professed had been bequeathed him by a kinsman. By the favour of Providence,† he fell in with

Commendone, who
had been
sent over
before,
reaches
London in
disguise.

* He remained fifteen days, and he left for Rome the day after the execution of Northumberland.—PALLAVICINO.

† Cælitum ductu.

CH. 30. an acquaintance, a returned Catholic refugee, who had a place in the household; and from this man he learnt that the queen was virtually a prisoner in the Tower, and that the heretics on the council allowed no one of whose business they disapproved to have access to her. Mary, however, was made acquainted with his arrival;

A.D. 1553.
August.
He obtains an interview with the queen, and learns that Pole cannot yet be admitted ;

At all events, in his capacity of legate.

a secret interview was managed, at which she promised to do her very best in the interests of the Church; but she had still, she said, to conquer her kingdom, and Pole's coming, much as she desired it, was for the moment out of the question; before she could draw the spiritual sword she must have the temporal sword more firmly in her grasp, and she looked to marriage as the best means of strengthening herself. If she married abroad, she thought at that time of the Emperor; if she accepted one of her subjects, she doubted —in her dislike of Courtenay—whether Pole might not return in a less odious capacity than that of Apostolic Legate; as the queen's intended husband the country might receive him; he had not yet been ordained priest, and deacon's orders, on a sufficient occasion, could perhaps be dispensed with.* The visit, or visits, were concealed even from Renard. Commendone was forbidden, under the strictest injunctions, to reveal what the queen might say to him, except to the Pope or to Pole; and it is the more likely that

* 'Nec destiterat regina id ipsum Commendono indicare, eum percontata an existimaret Pontificem ad id legem Polo relaxaturum, cum is nondum sacer-

<p>dos sed diaconus esset, extarent que hujusmodi relaxionum exempla, ingentis alicujus emolumenti gratia.'—PALLAVICINO.</p>
--

she was serious in her expressions about the latter, from the care with which she left Renard in ignorance of Commendone's presence.

CH. 30.
A.D. 1553.
August.

The Papal messenger remained long enough to witness a rapid change in her position; he saw the restoration of the mass; he was in London at the execution, and he learnt the apostacy, of Northumberland; and he carried letters from Mary to the Pope with assurances of fidelity, and entreaties for the absolution of the kingdom. But Mary was obliged to say, notwithstanding, that for the present she was in the power of the people, of whom the majority mortally detested the Holy See; that the Lords of the Council were in possession of vast estates which had been alienated from the Church, and they feared their titles might be called in question;* and, although she agreed herself in all which Pole had urged (she had received his letter before Commendone left England), yet that, nevertheless, necessity acknowledged no law. Her heretical sister was in every one's mouth, and might at any moment take her place on the throne, and for the present, she said, to her deep regret, she could not, with prudence or safety, allow the legate to come to her.

The queen's letters were confirmed by Commendone himself; he had been permitted to confer in private with more than one good Catholic in the realm; and every one had given him the same as-

He carries
letters from
her to the
Pope with
assurances
of loyalty;

But she an-
ticipates
difficulties
in restoring
the papal
authority ;

Commendone as-
sures the
Pope
that the
difficulties
are real.

* Mary described her throne as, 'acquistato per benevolenze di quei popoli, che per le maggior parte odiano a morte questa sancta sede, oltre gl' interessi

dei beni ecclesiastici occupati da molti signori, che sono del suo consiglio.'—Julius III. to Pole: POLI *Epistole*, vol. iv.

CH. 30. surances,* although he had urged upon them the opposite opinion entertained by Pole:† he had himself witnessed the disposition with which the people regarded Elizabeth, and he was satisfied that the queen's alarm on this head was not exaggerated.‡

The Pope,
therefore,
cautions
Pole
against in-
discretion.

In opinions so emphatically given, the Pope was obliged to acquiesce, and the same view was enforced upon him equally strongly by the Emperor. Charles knew England tolerably well; he was acquainted perfectly well with the moral and intellectual unfitness of the intended legate for any office which required discretion; and Julius, therefore, was obliged to communicate to the eager cardinal the necessity of delay, and to express his fear that, by excess of zeal, he might injure the cause and alienate the well-affected queen.§ Though Pole might not go to England, however, he might go, as he went before, to the immediate neighbourhood; he might repair to Flanders, with a nominal commission to mediate, in the peace which was still hoped for. In Flanders, though the Pope forbore to tell him so, he would be under the Emperor's eye and under the Emperor's control, till the vital question of the

* 'Le parole che haveva inteso da lei disse di haver inteso da persone Catholice et digne di fede in quel paese.'—Julius III. to Pole: POLI *Epistola*, vol. iv.

† 'Et similmente espone l'opinione vostra con le ragioni che vi movano.'—Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ 'Onde se per questa molta diligenza nostra, le avvenisse qualche caso sinistro, si rovinarebbe forse (il che Dio non voglie) ogni speranza della redutzione di quella patria, levando se le forze a questa buona e Catholica regina, ovvero alienando la de noi par offesa ricevuta.'—Ibid.

queen's marriage had been disposed of, or till CH. 30.
England was in a calmer humour.

A.D. 1553.

About the marriage Charles was more anxious September.
than ever; Pole was understood to have de-
clined the honour of being a competitor;* Renard had informed the Emperor of the present direction of the queen's own inclinations; and treating himself, therefore, as out of the ques-
tion on the score of age and infirmities, he instructed his minister to propose the Prince Charles in-
of Spain as a person whom the religious and structs Re-
the political interests of the world alike recom- hard to pro-
mended to her as a husband. The alliance of pose the
England, Spain, and Flanders would command a Prince of
European supremacy; their united fleets would Spain to
sweep the seas, and Scotland, deprived of sup- the queen.
port from France, must become an English pro-
vince; while sufficient guarantees could be pro-
vided easily for the security of English liberties.
These, in themselves, were powerful reasons;
Renard was permitted to increase their cogency by promises of pensions, lands, and titles, or by hard money in hand, in whatever direction such liberality could be usefully employed.†

The external advantages of the connexion were obvious; it recommended itself to the queen from the Spanish sympathies which she had contracted in her blood, and from the assistance which it pro-

* 'Ayant le Cardinal Pole si expressemement declaré qu'il n'a nul désir de soy marier, et que nous tenons, que pour avoir si longuement suivi l'état ecclesias- tique, et s'accommode aux choses duysant a icelluy et estant diacre.'—Charles V. to Renard: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv.

† Ibid.

CH. 30. mised to afford her in the great pursuit of her life. The proposal was first suggested informally. A.D. 1553. Mary affected to find difficulties; yet, if she raised September. objections, it was only to prolong the conversation upon a subject which delighted her. She The queen spoke of her age; Philip was twenty-seven, she raises ob- ten years older; she called him 'boy'; she feared jec-tions, for she might not be enough for him; she was un- the plea-sure of suscep-tible; she had no experience in love;* with hearing them re- such other phrases, which Renard interpreted moved. at their true importance. With the queen there would be no difficulty; with the council it was far otherwise. Lord Paget was the only English statesman who listened with any show of favour.

Condition of parties in England. The whole laity are opposed to reunion with Rome. The complication of parties is not to be easily disentangled. Some attempt, however, may be partially successful.

The council, the peers, the Commons, the entire lay voices of England, liberal and conservative alike, were opposed to Rome; Gardiner was the only statesman in the country who thought a return to Catholic union practicable or desirable; while there was scarcely an influential family, titled or untitled, which was not, by grant or purchase, in possession of confiscated Church property.

There was an equal unanimity in the dread that if Mary became the wife of a Spanish sovereign England would, like the Low Countries,

* 'Elle jura que jamais elle n'avoit senti esquillon de ce que l'on appelle amour, ny entre en pensement de volupté,' &c.—Renard to the Bishop of Arras: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv.

sink into a provincial dependency; while, again, CH. 30.
there was the utmost unwillingness to be again entangled in the European war; the French ambassador insisted that the Emperor only desired the marriage to secure English assistance; and the council believed that, whatever promises might be made, whatever stipulations insisted on, such a marriage, sooner or later, would implicate them. The country was exhausted, the currency ruined, the people in a state of unexampled suffering, and the only remedy was to be looked for in quiet and public economy; there were attractions in the offer of a powerful alliance, but the very greatness of it added to their reluctance; they desired to isolate England from European quarrels, and marry their queen at home. With these opinions Paget alone disagreed, while Gardiner was loudly national.

A.D. 1543.
September.
The whole
council, ex-
cept Lord
Paget, are
opposed to
the Spanish
marriage.

On the other hand, though Gardiner held the restoration of the Papal authority to be tolerable, yet he dreaded the return of Pole, as being likely to supersede him in the direction of the English Church;* the party who agreed with the Chancellor about the marriage, and about Pole, disagreed with him about the Pope; while Paget, who was in favour of the marriage, was with the lords on the supremacy, and, as the Romanizing views of the queen became notorious, was inclining, with Arundel and Pembroke, towards the Protestants.

Gardiner is
opposed to
the return
of Pole.

No wonder, therefore, that the whole council were in confusion and at cross purposes. No

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 30. sooner were Charles's proposals definitely known
 —————
 A.D. 1553.
 September.
 The council
 are at cross
 purposes,
 than the entire machinery of the government was dislocated. Mary represented herself to Renard as without a friend whom she could trust; and the letters, both of Renard and Noailles, contain little else but reports how the Lords were either quarrelling, or had, one after the other, withdrawn in disgust to their country houses. Now it was Pembroke that was gone, now Mason, now Paget; then Courtenay was a prisoner in his house; then Lord Winchester was forbidden And on bad to appear at court: the ministers were in distrust terms with one another of each other and of their mistress; the queen and with the queen. was condemned to keep them in their offices because she durst not make them enemies; while the Stanleys, Howards, Talbots, and Nevilles were glooming apart, indignant at the neglect of their own claims.

The queen herself was alternately angry and miserable; by the middle of September Renard congratulated Charles on her growing ill-humour; the five Dudleys and Lady Jane, he hoped, would be now disposed of, and Elizabeth would soon follow.

Elizabeth's danger was great, and proceeded as much from her friends' indiscretion as from the hatred of her enemies. Every one who disliked the queen's measures, used Elizabeth's name.

Renard endeavours to destroy Elizabeth. Renard was for ever hissing his suspicions in the queen's ear, and, unfortunately, she was a too willing listener—not, indeed, that Renard hated Elizabeth for her own sake, for he rather admired her—or for religion's sake, for he had a

most statesmanlike indifference to religion; but Ch. 30. he saw in her the queen's successful rival in the A.D. 1553.
September. favour of the people, the heir-presumptive to the crown, whose influence would increase the further the queen travelled on the road on which he was leading her, and, therefore, an enemy who, if possible, should be destroyed. An opportunity of creating a collision between the sisters was not long wanting. The Lords of the Council were now generally present at mass in the royal chapel. Elizabeth, with Anne of Cleves, had as yet refused to appear. Her resistance was held to imply a sinister intention; and on the 2nd and 3rd of September the council were instructed to bring her to compliance.* Yet the days passed, the priest sang, and the heir to the crown continued absent. Gardiner, indeed, told Renard that she was not obdurate; he had spoken to her, and she had seemed to say that, if he could convince her, her objections would cease;† but they had not ceased so far; she did not attend. In the happiness of her first triumph Mary had treated Elizabeth like a sister; but her manner had relapsed into coldness; and the princess, at length, knowing how her name was made use of, requested a private interview, which, with difficulty, was granted. The sisters, each accompanied by a single lady, met in a gallery with a half-door between them. Elizabeth threw herself on her knees. She said that she perceived

Elizabeth does not attend the queen's mass.

She requests a private interview with the queen, which is granted.

* Noailles to the King of France: *Ambassades*, vol. ii. p. 147.

† Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 30. her Majesty was displeased with her; she could not tell what the cause might be, unless it was religion; and for this, she said, she might be reasonably forgiven; she had been educated, as the queen was aware, in the modern belief, and she understood no other; if her Majesty would send her books and teachers, she would read; she would listen; she could say no more.

<sup>A.D. 1553.
September.</sup> The queen urges obedience, and Elizabeth comes to mass once. Mary, at the moment, was delighted. Like a true Catholic, however, she insisted that obedience must precede faith; come to the mass, she said, and belief will be the reward of your submission; make your first trial on the mass of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin.*

Elizabeth consented. She was present, but present reluctantly; pretending, as Renard said, to be ill; the next Sunday she was again absent. The queen, knowing the effect which her conduct would produce, again sent for her, and asked her earnestly what she really believed; the world said that, although she had complied once, her compliance was feigned, and that she had submitted out of fear; she desired to hear the truth. Elizabeth could reply merely that she had done as the queen had required her to do, with no ulterior purpose; if her Majesty wished, she would make a public declaration to that effect.† The queen was obliged to receive her answer; but she told Renard that her sister trembled as she spoke, and well, Renard said, he

^{The queen is not satisfied, and Renard feeds her suspicions.}

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

† Renard to Charles V., September 23: *Ibid.*

understood her agitation ; she was the hope of CH. 30.
the heretics, and the heretics were raising their
heads ; the Papists, they said, had had their A.D. 1553.
day, but it was waning ; if Elizabeth lived,
England would again apostatize. September.

There was no difficulty in keeping the queen's Nor does
jealousy alive against her sister. Courtenay was Renard ap-
another offence in the eye of the ambassador, as prove of
the rival to Philip, who found favour with the Courtenay,
English council. The queen affected to treat whom he
Courtenay as a child ; she commanded him to regards as
keep to his house ; she forbade him to dine Philip's
abroad without special permission ; the title of
Earl of Devon was given to him, and he had a
dress made for him to take his seat in, of velvet
and gold, but the queen would not allow him to
wear it :* and yet, to her own and the ambas-
sador's mortification, she learnt that he affected
the state of a prince ; that he spoke of his
marriage with her as certain ; that certain pre-
lates, Gardiner especially, encouraged his expec-
tation, and one or more of them had knelt in his
presence.† The danger had been felt from the
first that, if she persisted in her fancy for the
Prince of Spain, Courtenay might turn his ad-
dresses to Elizabeth ; the Lords would in that case
fall off to his support, and the crown would fall
from her head as easily as it had settled there.

More afflicting to Mary than these personal
grievances, was the pertinacity with which the

* NOAILLES.

† Renard to Charles V., September 19 : *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 30. council continued, in their public documents, to describe her as Head of the Church, the execrable title which was the central root of the apostacy. In vain she protested; the hateful form—indispensable till it was taken away by parliament—was thrust under her eyes in every paper which was brought to her for signature, and she was obliged to acknowledge the designation with her own hand and pen.

A.D. 1553.
September.
Shall the queen be crowned before or after the meeting of parliament?

The people insist that the Spanish marriage shall not be.

Amidst these anxieties, September wore away. Parliament was to open on the fifth of October, and either before or after the meeting the queen was to be crowned. The ceremony was an occasion of considerable agitation; Mary herself was alarmed lest the Holy Oil should have lost its efficacy through the interdict; and she entreated Renard to procure her a fresh supply from Flanders, blessed by the excellent hands of the Bishop of Arras. But the oil was not the gravest difficulty. As the rumour spread of the intended Spanish marriage, libellous handbills were scattered about London; the people said it should not be till they had fought for it. A disturbance at Greenwich, on the 25th of September, extended to Southwark, where Gardiner's house was attacked;* and a plot was discovered to murder him: in the day he wore a shirt of mail under his robes, and he slept with a guard of a hundred men. Threatening notices were even found on the floor of the queen's bedroom, left there by unknown hands. Noailles assured the Lords that

* NOAILLES; RENARD.

his own government would regard the marriage Ch. 30. as little short of a declaration of war, so inevitably would war be the result of it; and Gardiner, who was unjustly suspected of being in the Spanish interest, desired to delay the coronation till parliament should have met; intending that the first act of the assembly should be to tie Mary's hands with a memorial which she could not set aside. She inherited under her father's will, by which her accession was made conditional on her marrying not without the consent of the council; Parliament might remind her both of her own obligation to obey her father's injunctions, and of theirs to see that they were obeyed.

A.D. 1553.
September.
Gardiner
desires to
postpone
the corona-
tion till
parliament
has given
an opinion
on the
marriage.

With the same object, though not with the same object only, the Lords of the Council supported the Bishop of Winchester. They proposed to alter the form of the coronation oath, and to bind the queen by an especial clause to maintain the independence of the English Church—a precaution, as it proved, not unnecessary—for the existing form was already inconvenient, and Mary was meditating how, when called on to swear to observe the laws and constitutions of the realm, she could introduce an adjective *sub silentio*; she intended to swear only that she would observe the just laws and constitutions.* But she looked with the gravest alarm to the introduction of more awkward phrases; if words were added which would be equivalent (as she would understand them) to a denial of Christ and his Church, she had resolved to refuse at all hazards.†

Projected
alteration
of the coro-
nation oath.

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

† Ibid.

CH. 30. But her courage was not put to the test. The

A.D. 1553.
September. true grounds on which the delay of the corona-

tion was desired could not be avowed. The queen was told that her passage through the streets would be unsafe until her accession had been sanctioned by parliament, and the act repealed by which she was illegitimatized. With Paget's help she

The queen
resolves
that she
will be
crowned
imme-
diately, faced down these objections, and declared that she would be crowned at once; she appointed the 1st of October for the ceremony; on the 28th she sent for the council to attempt an appeal to their generosity. She spoke to them at length

And ap-
peals to the
generosity
of the coun-
cil, not
without
effect. of her past life and sufferings, of the conspiracy to set her aside, and of the wonderful Providence which had preserved her and raised her to the throne; her only desire, she said, was to do her duty to God and to her subjects; and she hoped, turning as she spoke, pointedly to Gardiner, that they would not forget their loyalty, and would stand by her in her extreme necessity. Observing them hesitate, she cried, 'My Lords, on my knees I implore you'—and flung herself on the ground at their feet.*

The most skilful acting could not have served Mary's purpose better than this outburst of natural emotion; the spectacle of their kneeling sovereign overcame for a time the scheming passions of her ministers; they were affected, burst into tears, and withdrew their opposition to her wishes.†

* 'Devant les quelz elle se mist à genoulx.'—Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

† *Ibid.*

On the 30th, the procession from the Tower to CH. 30.
 Westminster through the streets was safely ac-
 complished. The retinues of the Lords protected
 the queen from insult, and London put on its
 usual outward signs of rejoicing; St. Paul's spire
 was rigged with yards like a ship's mast, an
 adventurous sailor sitting astride on the weather-
 cock five hundred feet in the air:^{*} there was
 no interruption; and the next day, Arras having
 sent the necessary unction,[†] the ceremony was
 performed at the Abbey without fresh burdens
 being laid on Mary's conscience.

The banquet in the Great Hall passed off The queen
is crowned. with equal success; Sir Edward Dymocke, the champion, rode in and flung down his gage, and was listened to with becoming silence: on the whole, Mary's friends were agreeably disappointed; only Renard observed that, between the French ambassador and the Lady Elizabeth there seemed to be some secret understanding; the princess saluted Noailles as he passed her; Renard she Renard,
Noailles,
and the
Lady Eli-
zabeth. would neither address nor look at—and Renard was told that she complained to Noailles of the weight of her coronet, and that Noailles 'bade her have

* The Hot Gospeller, half-recovered from his gaol fever, got out of bed to see the spectacle, and took his station at the west end of St. Paul's. The procession passed so close as almost to touch him, and one of the train seeing him muffled up, and looking more dead than alive, said, There is one that loveth her Ma-

jesty well, to come out in such condition. The queen turned her head and looked at him. To hear that any one of her subjects loved her just then was too welcome to be overlooked.—Underhill's Narrative: *MS. Harleian,* 425.

† Arras to Renard: *Gravell's Papers*, vol. iv. p. 105.

A.D. 1553.
 October.
 The pro-
 cession
 through
 the streets
 takes place
 without in-
 terruption.

CH. 30. patience, and before long she would exchange it for a crown.*

A.D. 1553.
October.

The queen
thinks of
raising an
Irish body-
guard.

The coronation was a step gained; it was one more victory, yet it produced no material alteration. Rome, and the Spanish marriage, remained as before, insoluble elements of difficulty; the queen, to her misfortune, was driven to rely more and more on Renard; and at this time she was so desperate and so ill-advised as to think of surrounding herself with an Irish body-guard; she went so far as to send a commission to Sir George Stanley for their transport.†

The scheme was abandoned, but not because her relations with her own people were improved. Before parliament met, an anonymous pamphlet appeared by some English nobleman on the encroachments of the House of Austria, and on the treatment of other countries which had fallen through marriages into Austrian hands. In Lombardy and Naples every office of trust was described as held by a Spaniard; the Prince of Salerno was banished, the Prince of Benevento was a prisoner in Flanders, the Duke of Calabria a prisoner in Spain. Treating Mary's hopes of children as ridiculous, the writer pictured England, bound

* Renard to the Regent Mary: *Rolls House MSS.*

† 'Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of England, &c. . . . to all mayors, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other our subjects, these our letters, hearing or seeing: whereas we have appointed a certain number of able men to be presently levied for our service

within our realm of Ireland, and to be transported hither with diligence, we let you wit that for that purpose we have authorized our trusty Sir George Stanley, Knight,' &c.—October 5, 1553. From the original Commission: *Tanner MSS.* 90, Bodleian Library.

hand and foot, at the mercy of the insolent CH. 30.
Philip, whose first step, on entering the country, ^{A.D. 1553.} would be to seize the Tower and the fleet, the ^{October.} next, to introduce a Spanish army and suppress the parliament. The free, glorious England of the Plantagenets would then be converted into a prostrate appanage of the dominions of Don Carlos. The pamphlet was but the expression of the universal feeling. Gardiner, indeed, ^{Gardiner hesitates,} perplexed between his religion and his country, for a few days wavered. Gardiner had a long debt to pay off against the Protestants, and a Spanish force, divided into garrisons for London and other towns, would assist him materially.* Partly, however, from attachment to Courtenay, partly from loyalty to his country, he shook off ^{But again adheres to} the temptation and continued to support the ^{the opposition.} opposition.†

* 'J'estime qu'il desire présentement y voir une bonne partie de l'Espaigne et Allemaigne, y tenir grosses et fortes garnisons, pour mortifier ce peuple, et s'en venger,' &c.—Noailles to the King of France: *Ambassades*, vol. ii. p. 169.

† A look at Gardiner, at this time, through contemporary eyes, assists much towards the understanding him. Thomas Mountain, parson of St. Michael's by the Tower, an ultra-Reformer, had been out with Northumberland at Cambridge. The following story is related by himself.

'Sunday, October 8,' Mountain says, 'I ministered service, according to the godly order set forth by

that blessed prince King Edward, the parish communicating at the Holy Supper. Now, while I was even a breaking of bread at the table, saying to the communicants, Take and eat this, Drink this, there were standing by several serving-men, to see and hear, belonging to the Bishop of Winchester; among whom, one of them most shamefully blasphemed God, saying:

'Yea, by God's blood, standest thou there yet, saying—Take and eat, Take and drink; will not this gear be left yet? You shall be made to sing another song within these few days, I trow, or else I have lost my mark.'

A day or two after came an

CH. 30.

A.D. 1553.
October.

Mary, except for the cautious support of Paget, stood otherwise alone coquetting with

order for Mountain to appear before Gardiner at Winchester House. Mountain said he would appear after morning prayers; but the messenger's orders were not to leave him, and he was obliged to obey on the instant.

The bishop was standing when he entered, 'in a bay window, with a great company about him; among them Sir Anthony St. Leger, reappointed Lord Deputy of Ireland.'

'Thou heretic,' the bishop began; 'how darest thou be so bold as to use that schismatical service still, seeing God hath sent us a Catholic queen. There is such an abominable company of you, as is able to poison a whole realm with heresies.'

'My lord,' Mountain replied, 'I am no heretic, for in that way you count heresy, so worship we the living God.'

'God's passion,' said the bishop, 'did I not tell you, my Lord Deputy, how you should know a heretic. He is up with his living God as though there was a dead God. They have nothing in their mouths, these heretics, but the Lord liveth; the living God; the Lord! the Lord! and nothing but the Lord.'

'Here,' says Mountain, 'he chafed like a bishop; and as his manner was, many times he put off his cap, and rubbed to and fro up and down the forepart of his head, where a lock of hair was always standing up.'

'My good Lord Chancellor,' St. Leger said to him, 'trouble not yourself with this heretic; I think all the world is full of them; God bless me from them. But, as your Lordship said, having a Christian queen reigning over us, I trust there will shortly be a reformation and an order taken with these heretics.' 'Submit yourself unto my lord,' he said to Mountain, 'and you shall find favour.'

'Thank you, sir,' Mountain answered, 'ply your own suit, and let me alone.'

A bystander then put in that the parson of St. Michael's was a traitor as well as a heretic. He had been in the field with the duke against the queen.

'Is it even so?' cried Gardiner; 'these be always linked together, treason and heresy. Off with him to the Marshalsea; this is one of our new broached brethren that speaketh against good works; your fraternity was, is, and ever will be unprofitable in all ages, and good for nothing but the fire.'—*Troubles of Thomas Mountain: printed by STRYPE.*

The portraits of Gardiner represent a fine, vehement-looking man. The following description of him, by Ponet, his rival in the see of Winchester, gives the image as it was reflected in Ponet's antipathies.

'The doctor hath a swart colour, hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within his head, a nose hooked like a bus-

her fancy, and played upon by the skilful Renard. CH. 30.
The queen and the ambassador were incessantly —————
together, and Philip was the never-tiring subject of —————
conversation between them. She talked of his dis- —————
position. She had heard, she said, that he was —————
proud; that he was inferior to his father in point
of ability; and then he was young, and she had
been told sad stories about him; if he was of
warm temperament, he would not suit her at all,
she said, considering the age at which she had
arrived.* Moreover, when she was married, she
must obey as God commanded; her husband,
perhaps, might wish to place Spaniards in autho-
rity in England, and she would have to refuse;
and that he would not like. To all of which,
being the fluttering of the caught fly, Renard is
would answer that his Highness was more like an eloquent on
angel than a man; his youth was in his favour, —————
for he might live to see his child of age, and —————
England had had too much experience of minori- —————
ties. Life, he added remarkably, was shorter
than it used to be; sixty was now a great age for
a king; and as the world was, men were as mature
at thirty as in the days of his grandfather they
were considered at forty.† Then touching the
constant sore—‘her Majesty,’ he said, ‘had four

A.D. 1553.
October.
The queen
Renard on
Philip's
character.

Renard is
eloquent on
Philip's
virtues.

zard's, nostrils like a horse, ever
snuffing in the wind; a sparrow
mouth, great paws like the devil,
talons on his feet like a gripe,
two inches longer than the na-
tural toes, and so tied with
sinews that he cannot abide to
be touched.'

* ‘Que s'il vouloit estre vo-
luptueux ce n'est ce quelle desire
pour estre de telle eaise.’—Re-
nard to the Emperor: *Rolle
House MSS.*

† Ibid.

CH. 30.

A.D. 1553.
October.
The queen
has four
enemies—
the hereti-
cals, the
party of
Northum-
berland,
the courts
of France
and Scot-
land, and
Elizabeth.

enemies, who would never rest till they had destroyed her or were themselves destroyed—the heretics, the friends of the late Duke of Northumberland, the courts of France and Scotland, and, lastly, her sister Elizabeth. Her subjects were restless, turbulent, and changeable as the ocean of which they were so fond;* the sovereigns of England had been only able to rule with a hand of iron, and with severities which had earned them the name of tyrants;† they had not spared the blood royal in order to secure their thrones, and she too must act as they had acted, leaning for support, meanwhile, on the arm of a powerful prince.

To these dark hints Mary ever listened eagerly—meantime she was harassed painfully from another quarter.

Reginald
Pole insists
that he
alone un-
derstands
England.

Reginald Pole, as might have been expected from his temperament, could ill endure the delay of his return to England. The hesitation of the queen and the objections of the Emperor were grounded upon arguments which he assured himself were fallacious; the English nation, he continued to insist, were devoted to the Holy See; so far from being himself unpopular, the *Cornish*

* ‘Vostre Majesté seit les humeurs des Angloys et leur volunteez estre forte discordantes, désireux de nouvelleté, de mutation, et vindicatifz, soit pour estre insulaires, ou pour tenir ce naturel de la marine.’—Renard to Mary: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. p. 129.

† ‘Les roys du passé ont esté forcés de traicter en rigueur de justice et effusion de sang par l’execution de plusieurs du royaulme, voir du sang royal, pour s’asseurer et maintenir leur royaulme, dont ils ont acquis le renom de tverans et cruelz.’—Ibid.

in the rebellion under Edward had petitioned for his recall, and had even designated him by the forbidden name of cardinal ; they loved him and they longed for him ; and, regarding himself as the chosen instrument of Providence to repair the iniquities of Henry VIII., he held the obstructions to his return not only to be mistaken, but to be impious. The duty of the returning prodigal was to submit ; to lay aside all earthly considerations—to obey God, God's vicegerent the Pope, and himself the Pope's representative.

CH. 30.
A.D. 1553.
October.

Mendoza had been sent by Charles to meet Pole on his way to Flanders, and reason him into moderation. In return the legate wrote himself to Charles's confessor, commanding him to explain to his master the sin which he was committing. 'The objection to his going to England,' as Pole understood, 'was the supposed danger of an outbreak. Were the truth as the Emperor feared, the queen's first duty would be, nevertheless, to God, her own soul, and the souls of the millions of her subjects who were perishing in separation from the Church; for no worldly policy or carnal respect ought she to defer for a moment to apply a remedy to so monstrous a calamity.* But the danger was imaginary—or, rather, such danger as there was, arose from the opposite cause. The right of the queen to the throne did not rest on an

He sends a
lecture to
the Empe-
ror on his
unchristian
conduct.

* 'Quanto grave peccato et irreparabil danno sia il differir cosa che pertenga alle salute di tante anime, le quale mentre quel regno sta disunito dalla

Chiesa, si trovano in manifesto pericolo della loro dannazione.'—Pole to the Emperor's Confessor: *MS. Germany*, bundle 16, State Paper Office.

CH. 30.

A.D. 1553.

October.

The queen
is no queen
until the
Pope is re-
cognised.

act of parliament; it rested on her birth as the lawful child of the lawful marriage between Henry and Catherine of Arragon. Parliament, he was informed, would affirm the marriage legitimate, if nothing was said about the Pope; but, unless the Pope's authority was first recognised, parliament would only stultify itself; the Papal dispensation alone made valid a connexion which, if the Pope had no power to dispense, was incestuous, and the offspring of it illegitimate. God had made the peaceful settlement of the kingdom dependent on submission to the Holy See,* and for parliament to interfere and give an opinion upon the subject would be but a fresh act of schism and disobedience.'

Pole does
the queen
an unwilling
service.

The original letter, being in our own State Paper Office, was probably given by the confessor to Charles, and by Charles sent over to England. Most logical it was; so logical that it quite outwitted the intention of the writer. While it added to the queen's distress, it removed, nevertheless, all objections which might have been raised by the anti-papal party against the act to legitimatize her. So long as there was a fear that, by a repeal of the Act of Divorce between her father and mother, the Pope's authority might indirectly be admitted, some difficulty was

* God, he said, had joined the title to the crown, 'con l'obedientia della Sede Apostolica, che levata questa viene a cader in tutto, quella non essendo ella legitime herede del regno, se non per la legitimation del matri-

monio della regina sua madre, et questa non valendo senon per l'autorita et dispensa del Papa.' —Pole to the Emperor's Confessor: *MS. Germany*, bundle 16, State Paper Office.

to be anticipated; as a new assertion of English independence, it could be carried with unanimous alacrity.

Ch. 30.
A.D. 1553.
October 5.

What parliament would or would not consent to, however, would soon cease to be a mystery. The advice of the Emperor on the elections had been, for the most part, followed. It was obvious, indeed, that a sovereign who was unable to control her council was in no position to dictate to constituencies. There were no circulars to the lords-lieutenant of counties, such as Northumberland had issued, or such as Mary herself, a year later, was able to issue; while the unusual number of members returned to the Lower House—four hundred and thirty, it will be seen, voted on one great occasion—shows that the issue of writs had been on the widest scale. On the whole, it was, perhaps, the fairest election which had taken place for many years. In the House of Lords the ejection of the Reforming bishops and the restoration of their opponents—the death, imprisonment, or disgrace of three noblemen on the Reforming side, and the return to public life of the peers who, in the late reign, had habitually absented themselves, had restored a conservative majority. How the representatives of the people would conduct themselves was the anxious and all-agitating question. The queen, however, could console herself with knowing that Protestantism, as a system of belief, had made its way chiefly among the young; the votes were with the middle-aged and the old.

The queen has a majority among the Lords.

The session opened on the 5th of October with

CH. 30.

A.D. 1553.
October 5.
Parliament
opens ; ob-
jectionable
persons are
removed.

the ancient form, so long omitted, of the mass of the Holy Ghost. Two Protestant bishops, Taylor of Lincoln and Harley of Hereford, who had been left as yet undisturbed in their sees, on the service commencing, rose and went out ; they were not allowed to return. Two prebends, Alexander Nowel and Doctor Tregonwell had been returned to the Lower House ; Nowel as a member of convocation was declared ineligible ;* Tregonwell, being a layman, was, on consideration, allowed to retain his seat. These were the only ejections which can be specifically traced, and the silence of those who were interested in making the worst of Mary's conduct, may be taken to prove that they did not know of any more.† The Houses, purged of these elements, then settled to their work ; and, plunging at once into the great question of the time, the Commons came to an instant understanding that the lay owners of Church lands should

* ‘Friday, October 13, it was declared by the commissioners that Alex. Nowel, being prebendary in Westminster, and thereby having a voice in the Convocation House, cannot be a member of this House, and so agreed by the House.’—*Commons Journal*, i. Mary.

† Burnet and other Protestant writers are loud-voiced with eloquent generalities on the interference with the elections, and the ill-treatment of the Reforming members ; but of interference with the elections they can produce no evidence, and of members ejected they name no more than the two bishops and the two

prebends. Noailles, indeed, who had opportunities of knowing, says something on both points. ‘Ne fault douter, sire,’ he wrote to the King of France, ‘que la dicte dame n’obtienne presque tout ce qu’elle vouldra en ce parlement, de tant qu’elle a fait faire election de ceux qui pourront estre en sa faveur, et jettter quelques uns à elle suspectz.’ The queen had probably done what she could ; but the influence which she could exercise must obviously have been extremely small, and the event showed that the ambassador was entirely wrong in his expectations.

not be disturbed in their tenures under any pretext whatsoever. CH. 30.

Commendone, on returning to Rome, had dis- A.D. 1553. October.
The queen
is given to
understand
that the
Church
lands shall
never be
restored, regarded his obligations to secrecy, and had related all that the queen had said to him in the open Consistory; from the Consistory the account travelled back to England, and arrived inopportunely at the opening of parliament. The fatal subject of the lands had been spoken of, and the queen had expressed to Commendone her intention to restore them, if possible, to the Church. The council cross-questioned her, and she could neither deny her words nor explain them away; the Commons first, the Lords immediately after, showed her that, whatever might be her own hopes or wishes, their minds on that point were irrevocably fixed.*

No less distinct were the opinions expressed in the Lower House on the Papacy. The authority of the Pope, as understood in England, was not a question of doctrine, nor was the opposition to it of recent origin. It had been thrown off after a struggle which had lasted for centuries, and a victory† so hardly won was not to be lightly parted Nor the au-
thority of
the Pope
re-esta-
blished,

* Renard to Charles V., October 19: *Rolls House MSS.*

† Even the most reactionary clergy, men like Abbot Feckenham and Doctor Bourne, had no desire, as yet, to be re-united to Rome. In a discussion with Ridley in the Tower, on the real presence, Feckenham argued that forty years before all the world was agreed about it. Forty years ago, said Ridley, all held that the Bishop of Rome was su-

preme head of the Universal Church. What then, was Master Feckenham beginning to say? but Master Secretary (Bourne) took the tale, and said that was a positive law. A positive law, quoth Ridley; he would not have it so; he challenged it by Christ's own word, by the words 'Thou art Peter; thou art Cephas.' Tush, quoth Master Secretary, it was not counted an article of our faith.—FOXE, vol. vi.

CH. 30. with. Lord Paget warned the queen that Pole's name must not be so much as mentioned, or some unwelcome resolution about him would be immediately passed;* and she was in hourly dread that before they would consent to anything, they would question her whether she would or would not maintain the royal supremacy.† On the other hand, if no difficulties were raised about the Pope or the Church lands, the preliminary discussion, both

But the Act of Uniformity may be repealed,

And the queen declared legitimate.

among Lords and Commons, showed a general disposition to re-establish religion in the condition in which Henry left it—provided, that is to say, no penalties were to attach to nonconformity; and the Houses were ready also to take the step so much deprecated by Pole, and pass a measure legitimatizing the queen, provided no mention was to be made of the Papal dispensation. Some difference of opinion on the last point had shown itself in the House of Commons,‡ but thelegate's ingenuity had removed all serious obstacles.

Again parliament seemed determined that the Act of Succession, and the will of Henry VIII., should not be tampered with, to the disfavour of Elizabeth. It is singular that Renard, and probably, therefore, Mary, were unaware of the position in which Elizabeth was placed towards the crown. They imagined that her only title was as a presumptively legitimate child; that if the Act of Divorce between Catherine of Arragon and Henry was repealed, she must then, as a

* Renard to Charles V., October 28 : *Rolls House MSS.*

† Ibid. October 15 : *Rolls House MSS.* ‡ Ibid.

bastard, be cut off from her expectations. Had Ch. 30.
Elizabeth's prospects been liable to be affected by
the legitimization of her sister, the queen would
have sued as vainly for it as she sued afterwards
in favour of her husband. With unmixed mor-
tification Renard learnt that Elizabeth, in the eye
of the law, had been as illegitimate as Mary, and
that her place in the order of succession rested on
her father's will. He flattered himself, at first,
that Henry's dispositions could be set aside;*
but he very soon found that there was no present
hope of it.

A.D. 1553.
October.
Elizabeth's
prospects,
however,
may not be
interfered
with.

These general features of the temper of parlia-
ment were elicited in conversation in the first few
days of the session. The Marchioness of Exeter,
during the same days, was released from her
attainder, Courtenay was restored in blood, and a
law, similar to that with which Somerset commenced
his Protectorate, repealed all late treason acts, Treason
restricted the definition of treason within the acts re-
limits of the statute of Edward III., and relieved pre-
munire. The queen gave her assent to these three
measures on the 21st of October; and there was
then an interval of three days, during which the
bishops were consulted on the view taken by par-
liament of the queen's legitimacy. Renard told
the Bishop of Norwich, Thirlby, that they must
bend to the times, and leave the Pope to his for-
tunes. They acted on the ambassador's advice.
An act was passed, in which the marriage from

acts re-
pealed, and
Pre-munire
restricted.

* Renard to Charles V., October 21: *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 30. which the queen was sprung, was declared valid, and the Pope's name was not mentioned; but the essential point being secured, the framers of the statute were willing to gratify their mistress by the intensity of the bitterness with which the history of the divorce was related.* The bishops must have been glad to escape from so mortifying a subject, and to apply themselves to the more congenial subject of religion.

A.D. 1553.
October.
The Act of
Divorce be-
tween
Henry and
Catherine
of Arragon
is repealed.

As soon as the disposition of parliament had been generally ascertained, the restoration of the mass was first formally submitted, for the sake of decency, to the clergy in convocation.

Convoca-
tion meets
to consider
the resto-
ration of
the mass.

An ecclesi-
astical
tourna-
ment.

The bench had been purged of dangerous elements. The Lower House contained a small fraction of Protestants just large enough to permit a controversy, and to ensure a triumph to their antagonists. The proceedings opened with a sermon from Harpsfeld, then chaplain of the Bishop of London, in which, in a series of ascending antitheses, Northumberland was described as Holofernes, and Mary as Judith; Northumberland was Haman, and Mary was Esther; Northumberland was Sisera, and Mary was the mother in Israel. Mary was the sister who had chosen the better part: religion ceased and slept until Mary arose a virgin in Israel, and with the mother of God Mary might sing, 'Behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.'

The trumpet having thus sounded, the lists were drawn for the combat; the bishops sat in their

* 1 Mary, cap. 1.

robes, the clergy stood bareheaded, and the CH. 30.
champions appeared. Hugh Weston, Dean of ——————
Windsor, Dean of Westminster afterwards, Dr. A.D. 1553.
Watson, Dr. Moreman, and the preacher Harps- October.
feld undertook to defend the real presence against
Phillips Dean of Rochester, Philpot, Cheney,
Aylmer, and Young.

The engagement lasted for a week. The re- The discus-
forming theologians fought for their dangerous sion assum-
cause bravely and temperately; and Weston, who ing a form
was at once advocate and prolocutor, threw down not unusual
his truncheon at last, and told Philpot that he in the de-
was meeter for Bethlehem than for a company of bates of the
grave and learned men, and that he should come clergy,
no more into their house.* The orthodox thus
ruled themselves the victors; but beyond the
doors of the Convocation House they did not
benefit their cause. The dispute, according to
Renard, resolved itself, in the opinion of the
laity, into scandalous railing and recrimination;†
the people were indignant; and the Houses of
Parliament, disgusted and dissatisfied, resumed
the discussion among themselves, as more com-
petent to conduct it with decency. In eight Is trans-
days the various changes introduced by Edward ferred to VI. were argued in the House of Com- the House
mons, and points were treated of there, said of Com-
Renard, which a general council could scarcely mons, and
resolve. At length, by a majority, which concluded
exceeded Gardiner's most sanguine hopes, of 350 in favour of
the mass.

* Report of the Disputation in the Convocation House.—
Foxe, vol. v. p. 395.

† Renard to Charles V., October 28: *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 30. against 80, the mass was restored, and the clergy were required to return to celibacy.*

A.D. 1553.
October.

Nonconformists,
however,
are not
to be pun-
ished.

Parliament
is against
the Spanish
marriage,

The precipitation with which Somerset, Cranmer, and Northumberland had attempted to carry out the Reformation, was thus followed by a natural recoil. Protestant theology had erected itself into a system of intolerant dogmatism, and had crowded the gaols with prisoners who were guilty of no crime but Nonconformity ; it had now to reap the fruits of its injustice, and was superseded till its teachers had grown wiser. The first parliament of Mary was indeed more Protestant, in the best sense of that word, than the statesmen and divines of Edward. While the House of Commons re-established the Catholic services, they decided, after long consideration, that no punishment should be inflicted on those who declined to attend those services.† There was to be no Pope, no persecution, no restoration of the abbey lands,—resolutions, all of them disagreeable to a reactionary court. On the Spanish marriage both Lords and Commons were equally impracticable. The Catholic noblemen—the Earls of Derby, Shrewsbury, Bath, and Sussex were in the interest of Courtenay. The chancellor had become attached to him in the Tower when they were fellow-prisoners there; and Sir Robert Rochester, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir Edward Waldegrave, the queen's tried and faithful officers of the household,

* Renard to Charles V., November 8 : *Rolls House MSS.*

† Ibid. December 8.

went with the chancellor. Never, on any subject, was there greater unanimity in England than in the disapproval of Philip as a husband for the queen, and, on the 29th of October, the Lower House had a petition in preparation to entreat her to choose from among her subjects.

CH. 30.

A.D. 1553.
October.

To Courtenay, indeed, Mary might legitimately object. Since his emancipation from the Tower he had wandered into folly and debauchery; he was vain and inexperienced, and his insolence was kept in check only by the quality so rare in an Englishman of personal timidity. But to refuse Courtenay was one thing, to fasten her choice on the heir of a foreign kingdom was another. Paget insisted, indeed, that, as the Queen of Scots was contracted to the Dauphin, unless England could strengthen herself with a connexion of corresponding strength, the union of the French and Scottish crowns was a menace to her liberties.* But the argument, though important in itself, was powerless against the universal dread of the introduction of a foreign sovereign, and it availed only to provide Mary with an answer to the protests and entreaties of her other ministers.

Paget alone considering the connexion a desirable one.

Perhaps, too, it confirmed her in her obstinacy, and allowed her to persuade herself that, in following her own inclination, she was consulting the interests of her subjects. Obstinate, at any rate, she was beyond all reach of persuasion. Once only she wavered, after her resolution was first taken. Some one had told her that, if she mar-

* RENARD.

CH. 30. ried Philip, she would find herself the stepmother
 A.D. 1553. of a large family of children who had come into
 October. the world irregularly. A moral objection she was
 Mary again always willing to recognise: She sent for Renard,
 asks Ren- and conjured him to tell her whether the prince
 bard if Philip is a was really the good man which he had described
 good man; him; Renard assured her that he was the very
 paragon of the world.

She caught the ambassador's hand.

'Oh!' she exclaimed, 'do you speak as a subject whose duty is to praise his sovereign, or do you speak as a man?'

'Your Majesty may take my life,' he answered, 'if you find him other than I have told you.'

'Oh that I could but see him!' she said.

She dismissed Renard gratefully. A few days after she sent for him again, when she was expecting the petition of the House of Commons. 'Lady Clarence,' one of the queen's attendants, was the only other person present. The holy wafer was in the room on an altar, which she called her pro-

And, being satisfied, she prays for guidance, and believes that she has received an answer.
 tector, her guide, her adviser.* Mary told them that she spent her days and nights in tears and prayers before it, imploring God to direct her; and as she was speaking her emotions overcame her; she flung herself on her knees with Renard and Lady Clarence at her side, and the three together before the altar sang the 'Veni Creator.' The invocation was heard in the breasts from which it was uttered. As the chant died into silence,

* 'Elle l'avoit toujours invoqué comme son protecteur, conducteur, et conseilleur.'—Renard to Charles V., October 31: *Rolls House MSS.*

Mary rose from the ground as if inspired, and announced the divine message. The Prince of Spain was the chosen of Heaven for the virgin queen; if miracles were required to give him to her, there was a stronger than man who would work them; the malice of the world should not keep him from her; she would cherish him and love him, and him alone; and never thenceforward, by a wavering thought, would she give him cause for jealousy.*

A.D. 1553.
November.

It was true that she had deliberately promised not to do what she was now resolved on doing, but that was no matter.

The Commons' petition was by this time ready, but the agitation of the last scene brought on a palpitation of the heart which for the time enabled the queen to decline to receive it; while Renard assailed the different ministers, and extracted from them their general views on the state of the country, and the measures which should be pursued.

The views
of the
English
council.

The Bishop of Winchester he found relaxing in his zeal for Rome, and desiring a solid independent English government, the re-enactment of the six articles, and an Anglican religious tyranny supported by the lords of the old blood. Nobles and people were against the Pope, Gardiner said, and against foreign interference of all sorts; Mary could not marry Philip without a Papal dispensation, which must be kept secret; the country would not tolerate it;† the

* Renard to Charles V., October 31 : *Rolls House MSS.*

† 'Il faudra obtenir dispense du Pape, pour le parentage, qui ne

CH. 30. French would play into the hands of the heretics, and the Spanish alliance would give them the game; there would be a cry raised that Spanish troops would be introduced to inflict the Pope upon the people by force. If the Emperor desired the friendship of England, he would succeed best by not pressing the connexion too close. Political marriages were dangerous. Cromwell tied Henry VIII. to Anne of Cleves; the marriage lasted a night, and destroyed him and his policy. Let the queen accept the choice of her people, marry Courtenay, send Elizabeth to the Tower, and extirpate heresy with fire and sword.

These were the views of Gardiner, from whom Renard turned next to Paget.

If the queen sent Elizabeth to the Tower, Lord Paget said, her life would not be safe for a day. Paget wished her to be allowed to choose her own husband; but she must first satisfy parliament that she had no intention of tampering with the succession. Should she die without children, the country must not be left exposed to claims from Spain on behalf of Philip, or from France on behalf of the Queen of Scots. His own advice, therefore, was, that Mary should frankly acknowledge her sister as her presumptive successor; Elizabeth might be married to Courtenay, and, in default of heirs of her own body, it might be avowed and understood that those two should be king and queen. Could she make up her mind

Paget
would let
the queen
marry
Philip, but
she must
recognise
Elizabeth,
who may
marry
Courtenay.

pourra estre publique ains secrete, autrement le peuple se revolteroit, pour l'autorité du Pape qu'il ne veult admettre et revoir.'—
Renard to Charles V., November 9: *Rolls House MSS.*

to this course, could she relinquish her dreams of Ch. 30.
restoring the authority of the Pope, of meddling —————
with the Church lands, and interfering with the A.D. 1553.
November. liberties of her people, she might rely on the
loyalty of the country, and her personal inclina-
tions would not be interfered with.*

Both the lines of conduct thus sketched were consistent and intelligible, and either might have been successfully followed. But neither the one nor the other satisfied Mary. She would have But Mary will have Philip, she would have the Pope, and she would and the Pope, and will not recognise Elizabeth.

choosing a husband for herself, she felt it would be difficult to refuse her; her object was to surprise the council into committing themselves, and she succeeded. On the 8th of November, when they were in session in a room in the Nov. 8. palace, Renard presented Mary in the Emperor's name with a formal offer of Philip's hand, and requested a distinct answer, Yes or no. The queen said she would consult her ministers, and repaired in agitation to the council-room.† Distrusting one another, unprepared for the sudden demand, and unable to consult in her presence, the Lords made some answer, which she interpreted into acquiescence: Mary returned radiant with joy, and told the ambassador that his proposal was accepted.

A momentary lull followed, during which Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury,

* Renard to Charles V., November 4: *Rolls House MSS.*

† 'Visage intimidé et gestes tremblans.'—Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

She surprises the council into an ambiguous acquiescence.

Lady Jane Grey, Cranmer, and the young Dudleys are tried, and condemned.

CH. 30. Lady Jane Grey, Lord Guilford, Lord Ambrose,

A.D. 1553. and Lord Henry Dudley were taken from the
Nov. 13. Tower on foot to the Guildhall, and were there

tried, found guilty of high treason, and sentenced
to die. Lady Jane the queen still intended to
spare; the Dudleys she meant to pause upon.
Cranmer, in a grave, mild letter, explained what
his conduct had been with respect to his so-called
treason; but his story, creditable to him as it was,

<sup>Cranmer
was to die,
but escapes
for a time
by accident.</sup> produced no effect; Cranmer was immediately to
be put to death. That was the first intention,
though it was found necessary to postpone his

fate through a superstitious scruple. The arch-
bishop had received the pallium from Rome, and,
until degraded by apostolic authority, he could
not, according to Catholic rule, be condemned by
a secular tribunal. But there was no intention of
sparing him at the time of his trial; in a few
days, Renard wrote on the 17th of November,

<sup>The queen
declares
herself
about to be
happy.</sup> ‘the archbishop’ will be executed; and Mary, tri-
umphant, as she believed herself, on the ques-
tion nearest to her heart, had told him that the
melancholy which had weighed upon her from
childhood was rolling away; she had never yet
known the meaning of happiness, and she was
about to be rewarded at last.*

The struggle had told upon her. She was look-
ing aged and worn,† and her hopes of children,
if she married, were thought extremely small.
But she considered that she had won the day,

* Renard to Charles V., November 17: *Rolls House MSS.*

† ‘Fort envieillie et agée.’—NOAILLES.

and was now ready to face the Commons; the CH. 30.
House had chafed at the delay: they had talked —
largely of their intentions; if the queen's answer A.D. 1553.
was unsatisfactory, they would dissolve them- November.
selves, they said, and return to their counties.

On the 16th of November a message was brought The
that the Speaker would at last be admitted to the
presence. The interview which followed, Mary
thus herself described to Renard. The council
were present; the Speaker was introduced, and
the queen received him standing.

A.D. 1553.
Speaker presents a petition from the House of Commons against the marriage.

In an oration, she said, replete to weariness
with fine phrases and historic precedents, the
Speaker requested her, in the name of the com-
monwealth, to marry. The succession was per-
plexed; the Queen of Scots made pretensions to
the crown; and, in the event of her death, a civil
war was imminent. Let her Majesty take a hus-
band, therefore, and with God's grace the king-
dom would not be long without an heir whose
title none would dispute. Yet, in taking a
husband, the Speaker said, her Majesty's faithful
Commons trusted she would not choose from
abroad. A foreign prince had interests of his own
which might not be English interests; he would
have command of English armies, fleets, and for-
tresses, and he might betray his trust; he might
involve the country in wars; he might make pro-
mises and break them; he might carry her High-
ness away out of the realm; or he might bring
up her children in foreign courts and in foreign
habits. Let her marry, therefore, one of her own
subjects.

<sup>A.D. 1553.
Nov. 16.</sup> CH. 30. The Speaker was so prolix, so tedious, so confused, the queen said—his sentences were so long-drawn and so little to the purpose—that she sate down before he had half finished. When he came to the words ‘Marry a subject,’ she could remain silent no longer.

Replies to addresses of the House of Commons were usually read by the chancellor; but, careless of forms, she again started to her feet, and spoke:—*

The queen
replies
more
briefly.

‘For your desire to see us married we thank you; your desire to dictate to us the consort whom we shall choose we consider somewhat superfluous; the English parliament has not been wont to use such language to their sovereigns, and where private persons in such cases follow their private tastes, sovereigns may reasonably challenge an equal liberty. If you, our Commons, force upon us a husband whom we dislike, it may occasion the inconvenience of our death;† if we marry where we do not love, we shall be in our grave in three months, and the heir of whom you speak will not have been brought into being. We have heard much from you of the incommodes which may attend our marriage; we have not heard from you of the commodities thereof—one of which is of some weight with us, the commodity, namely, of our

* Renard is the only authority for this speech, which he heard from the queen. Translated by him into French, and re-translated by myself into English, it has,

doubtless, suffered much in the process.
† ‘Ce seroit procurer l'inconvenient de sa mort.’

private inclination. We have not forgotten our CH. 30.
coronation oath. We shall marry as God shall —————
direct our choice, to his honour and to our A.D. 1553.
country's good.' Nov. 16.

She would hear no reply. The Speaker was led out, and as he left the room Arundel whispered to Gardiner that he had lost his office; the queen had usurped it. At the same moment the queen herself turned to the chancellor—'I have to thank you, my Lord, for this business,' she said.

The chancellor swore in tears that he was innocent; the Commons had drawn their petition themselves; for himself it was true he was well inclined towards Courtenay; he had known him in the Tower.

'And is your having known him in the Tower,' she cried, 'a reason that you should think him a fitting husband for me. I will never, never marry him—that I promise you—and I am a woman of my word; what I say I do.'

'Choose where you will,' Gardiner answered, 'your Majesty's consort shall find in me the most obedient of his subjects.'

Mary had now the bit between her teeth, and, resisting all efforts to check or guide her, was making her own way with obstinate resolution.

The next point was the succession, which, notwithstanding the humour of parliament, should be re-arranged, if force or skill could do it. There were four possible claimants after herself she told Renard, and in her own opinion the best title was that of the Queen of Scots. But the country

The queen
desires to
alter the
succession.

CH. 30. objected, and the Emperor would not have the English crown fall to France. The Greys were out of the question, but their mother, the Duchess of Suffolk, was eligible; and there was Lady Lennox, also, Darnley's mother, who perhaps, after all, would be the best choice that could be made.*

A.D. 1553.
November.
She prefers
Lady Len-
nox to the
other com-
petitors.

Elizabeth
shall never
reign with
consent of
hers.

Elizabeth, she was determined, should never, never succeed. She had spoken to Paget about it, she said, and Paget had remonstrated; Paget had said marry her to Courtenay, recognise her as presumptive heir, and add a stipulation, if necessary, that she become a Catholic; but, Catholic or no Catholic, she said, her sister should never reign in England with consent of hers; she was a heretic, a hypocrite, and a bastard, and her infamous mother had been the cause of all the calamities which had befallen the realm.

Even Renard was alarmed at this burst of passion. He had fed Mary's suspicions till they were beyond either his control or her own; and the attitude of parliament had lately shown him that, if any step were taken against Elizabeth without provocation on her part, it would infinitely increase the difficulty of concluding the marriage. He was beginning to believe, and he ventured to hint to the queen, that Paget's advice might be worth consideration; but on this subject she would listen to nothing.

Elizabeth had hitherto, when at court, taken precedence of all other ladies. The queen now compelled her to walk behind Lady Lennox and

* Renard to Charles V., November 28: *Rolls House MSS.*

the Duchess of Suffolk, as a sign of the meditated change;* and the ladies of the court were afraid to be seen speaking to her. But in reply to Mary's derogatory treatment, the young lords, knights, and gentlemen gathered ostentatiously round the princess when she rode abroad, or thronged the levees at her house; old-established statesmen said, in Renard's ear, that, let the queen decide as she would, no foreigner should reign in England; and Lord Arundel believed that Elizabeth's foot was already on the steps of the throne. A large and fast-growing party, which included more than one member of the Privy Council, were now beginning to consider, as the best escape from Philip, that Courtenay had better fly from the court, taking Elizabeth with him—call round him in their joint names all who would strike with him for English independence, and proclaim the queen deposed.

There was uncertainty about Elizabeth herself; both Noailles and Renard believed that she would consent to this dangerous proposal; but she had shown Courtenay, hitherto, no sign of favour; while Courtenay, on his side, complained that he was frightened by her haughty ways. Again there was a serious difficulty in Courtenay's character; he was too cowardly for a dangerous enterprise, too incapable for an intricate one, and his weak humour made men afraid to trust themselves

A.D. 1553.
November.
Elizabeth
is deprived
of her pre-
cedence
at the
court;
To which
the country
replies with
demonstra-
tions in her
favour.

Projects
begin to
rise for de-
posing the
queen.

* 'Elle l'a fait quelquefois aller apres la Comtesse de Lennox, que l'on appelle icy Madame Marguerite, et Madame Francoise, qu'est la susdict Duchesse de Suffolk.'—Noailles to the King of France, November 30.

CH. 30. to a person who, to save himself, might at any moment betray them. Noailles, however, said emphatically that, were Courtenay anything but what he was, his success would be certain.*

Courtenay
to fly with
Elizabeth
to the
western
counties.

Parliament
is dissolved.

Renard in-
sists that
Elizabeth
shall be
treated
with cour-
tesy, to
throw her
off her
guard.

The plot grew steadily into definite form. Devonshire and Cornwall were prepared for insurrection, and thither, as to the stronghold of the Courtenay family, Elizabeth was to be first carried. Meantime the ferment of popular feeling showed in alarming symptoms through the surface. The council were in continual quarrel. Parliament, since the rebuff of the Speaker, had not grown more tractable, and awkward questions began to be asked about a provision for the married clergy. All had been already gained which could be hoped for from the present House of Commons; and, on the 6th of December, the session ended in a dissolution. The same day a dead dog was thrown through the window of the presence chamber with ears cropped, a halter about its neck, and a label saying that all the priests in England should be hanged.

Renard, who, though not admitted, like Noailles, into the confidence of the conspirators, yet knew the drift of public feeling, and knew also Arundel's opinion of the queen's prospects, insisted that Mary should place some restraint upon herself, and treat her sister at least with outward courtesy; Philip was expected at Christmas, should nothing untoward happen in the interval; and the ambassador prevailed on her, at last, to pretend that her suspicions were at an end. His own desire,

* Noailles to the King of France, December 6.

he said, was as great as Mary's that Elizabeth CH. 30.
 should be detected in some treasonable corre- A.D. 1553.
 spondence; but harshness only placed her on her December.
 guard; she would be less careful, if she believed
 that she was no longer distrusted. The princess,
 alarmed perhaps at finding herself the uncon-
 senting object of dangerous schemes, had asked
 permission to retire to her country house. It
 was agreed that she should go; persons in her
 household were bribed to watch her; and the
 queen, yielding to Renard's entreaties, received
 her when she came to take leave, with an appear-
 ance of affection so well counterfeited, that it
 called out the ambassador's applause.* She
 made her a present of pearls, with a head-dress of
 sable; and the princess, on her side, implored
 the queen to give no more credit to slanders
 against her. They embraced; Elizabeth left the court;
 and, as she went out of London, five hundred
 gentlemen formed about her as a voluntary escort.† There were not wanting
 fools, says Renard, who would persuade the queen
 that her sister's last words were honestly
 spoken; but she remembers too acutely the injur-
 ies which her mother and herself suffered at
 Anne Boleyn's hands; and she has a fixed con-
 viction that Elizabeth, unless she can be first
 disposed of, will be a cause of infinite calamities
 to the realm.‡

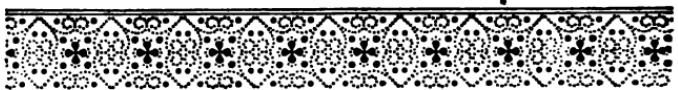
Elizabeth withdraws from the court. The queen pretends a return of affection,

But determines to destroy her, if possible.

* 'La Reine a tres bien dissimulée, en son endroit.'—Renard to Charles V., December 8: *Rolls House MSS.*

† NOAILLES.

‡ Renard to Charles V., December 8: *Rolls House MSS.*



CHAPTER XXXI.

THE SPANISH MARRIAGE.

CH. 31.
A.D. 1553.
December.

The Catholic gentlemen, who dislike the marriage, durst not oppose it by force, For fear of playing into the hands of the Reformers.

THE fears of Renard and the hopes of Noailles were occasioned by the unanimity of Catholics and heretics in the opposition to the marriage; yet, so singular was the position of parties, that this very unanimity was the condition which made the marriage possible. The Catholic lords and gentlemen were jealous of English independence, and, had they stood alone, they would have coerced the queen into an abandonment of her intentions: but, if they dreaded a Spanish sovereign, they hated unorthodoxy more, and if they permitted, or assisted in the schemes of the Reformers, they feared that they might lose the control of the situation when the immediate object was obtained. Those who were under the influence of Gardiner desired to restore persecution; and persecution, which was difficult with Mary on the throne, would be impossible under a sovereign brought in by a revolution. They made a favourite of Courtenay, but they desired to marry him to the queen, not to Elizabeth: Gardiner told the young earl that he would sooner see him the husband of the

vilest drab who could be picked out of the CH. 31.
London kennels.*

Thus, from their murmurs, they seemed to be on the edge of rebellion; yet, when the point of action came, they halted, uncertain what to do, unwilling to acquiesce, yet without resolution to resist. From a modern point of view the wisest policy was that recommended by Paget. The claim of the Queen of Scots on the throne unquestionably made it prudent for England to strengthen herself by some powerful foreign alliance; sufficient precautions could be devised for the security of the national independence; and, so far from England being in danger of being drawn into the war on the Continent, Lord Paget said that, if England would accept Philip heartily, the war would be at an end. Elizabeth of France might marry Don Carlos, taking with her the French pretensions to Naples and Milan as a dowry. Another French princess might be given to the expatriated Philibert, and Savoy and Piedmont restored with her. ‘You,’ Paget said to Noailles, ‘by your Dauphin’s marriage forced us to be friends with the Scots; we, by our queen’s marriage, will force you to be friends with the Emperor.’†

A.D. 1553.
December.

Paget's
moderate
policy can
find no
favour.

Paget, however, was detested as an upstart, and detested still more as a latitudinarian; he

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

† ‘Le dict Paget me respondit qu'il n'estoit ja besoing d'entrer en si grande jalouise, et que tout ainsi que nous les avions faictes amys avecques les Escos-

soys, ce mariage seroit aussy cause que nous serions amys avecques l'Empereur.’—Noailles to the King of France, December 26. Compare also the letter of December 23, *Ambassades*, vol. ii. pp. 334–356.

CH. 31. could form no party, and the queen made use of him only to support her in her choice of the Prince of Spain, as in turn she would use Gardiner to destroy the Protestants; and thus the two great factions in the State neutralized each other's action in a matter in which both were equally anxious; and Mary, although with no remarkable capacity, without friends and ruined, if at any moment she lost courage, was able to go her own way.

A.D. 1553.
December.

Conflicting parties neutralize each other; and the queen can go her own way.

The uncertainty was, how long so anomalous a state of things would continue. The marriage, being once decided on, Mary could think of nothing else, and even religion sank into the second place.

Pole is displeased that the interests of the Church should be postponed to the marriage.

Reginald Pole, chafing the Imperial bridle between his lips, vexed her, so Renard said, from day to day, with his untimely importunities;* the restoration of the mass gave him no pleasure so long as the papal legate was an exile; and in vain the queen laboured to draw from him some kind of approval.

He saw her only preferring carnal pleasures to her duty to Heaven; and, indifferent himself to all interests save those of the See of Rome, he was irritated with the Emperor, irritated with the worldly schemes to which he believed that his mission had been sacrificed. He talked angrily of the marriage. The queen heard through Wotton the ambassador at Paris, that he had said openly, it should never take place; † while Peto, the Green-

* Renard to Charles V., November 14. November 28, December 3, December 8, December 11: *Rolls House MSS.*

† Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.* The queen wrote to Wotton to learn his authority. The Venetian am-

wich friar, who was in his train, wrote to her, CH. 31. reflecting impolitely on her age and adding scripture commendations of celibacy as the more perfect state.* It was even feared that the impatient legate had advised the Pope to withhold the dispensations.

Mary, beyond measure afflicted, wrote to Pole at last, asking what in his opinion she ought to do. He sent his answer through a priest, by whom it could be conveyed with the greatest emphasis. First, he said, she must pray to God for a spirit of counsel and fortitude; next, she must, at all hazards, relinquish the name of Head of the Church; and, since she could trust neither peer nor prelate, she must recal parliament, go in person to the House of Commons, and demand permission with her own mouth for himself to return to England. The Holy See was represented in his person, and was freshly insulted in the refusal to receive him; the Pope's vast clemency had volunteered unasked to pardon the crimes of England; if the gracious offer was not accepted, the legacy would be cancelled, the national guilt would be infinitely enhanced.

A.D. 1553.
December.

He advises
the queen
to recal
parlia-
ment, and
entreat in
person for
the recep-
tion of the
legate.

bassador, Wotton said, was the person who had told him; but the quarter from which the information originally came, he believed, might be relied on.—Wotton to the Queen and Council : *MS. State Paper Office.*

* ‘Un des principaux qu'il a avec luy que se nomme William Peto, theologien, luy a escript luy donnant conseil de non se

marrier, et vivre en celibat ; meslant en ses lettres plusieurs allegations du Vieux et Nouveau Testament, repetant x ou xii fois qu'elle tombera en la puissance et servitude du mari, qu'elle n'aura enfans, sinon soubz danger de sa vie pour l'âge dont elle est.’ —Renard to Charles V.: *TYTLE,* vol. ii. p. 303.

CH. 31. The Emperor talked of prudence; in the service of God prudence was madness; and, so long as the schism continued, her attempts at reform were vanity, and her seat upon the throne was usurpation. Let her tell the truth to the House of Commons, and the House of Commons would hear.*

The Emperor and the Pope agree that Pole is not wise, and must be kept at a distance till after the marriage.

'Your Majesty will see,' wrote Renard, enclosing to Charles a copy of these advices, 'the extent of the Cardinal's discretion, and how necessary it is that for the present he be kept at a distance.' The Pope was not likely to reject the submission of England at any moment, late or early, when England might be pleased to offer it, and could well afford to wait. Julius was wiser than his legate. Pole was not recalled, but exhorted to patience, and a letter or message from Rome cooled Mary's anxieties. Meanwhile the marriage was to be expedited with as much speed as possible; the longer the agitation continued, the greater the danger; while the winter was unfavourable to revolutionary movements, and armed resistance to the prince's landing would be unlikely so long as the season prevented large bodies of men from keeping the field.†

The Emperor, therefore, in the beginning of December, sent over the draft of a marriage treaty; and if the security that the articles would be observed had equalled the form in which they were conceived, the English might have

* Instructions of Cardinal Pole to Thomas Goldwell: *Cotton. MSS. Titus, B. 11.*

† Renard dwelt much on this point as a reason for haste.

afforded to lay aside their alarms. Charles CH. 31.
seemed to have anticipated almost every point on _____
which the insular jealousy would be sensitive. The Prince of Spain should bear the title of King of England so long, but so long only as the queen should be alive; and the queen should retain the disposal of all affairs in the realm, and the administration of the revenues. The queen, in return, should share Philip's titles, present and prospective, with the large settlement of 60,000*l.* a year upon her for her life. Don Carlos, the prince's child by his first wife, would, if he lived, inherit Spain, Sicily, the Italian provinces, and the Indies. But Burgundy and the Low Countries should be settled on the offspring of the English marriage, and be annexed to the English crown; and this prospect, splendid in itself, was made more magnificent by the possibility that Don Carlos might die. Under all contingencies, the laws and liberties of the several countries should be held inviolate and inviolable.

In such a treaty the Emperor conferred everything, and in return received nothing; and yet, to gain the alliance, a negotiation already commenced for the hand of the Infanta of Portugal was relinquished. The liberality of the proposals was suspicious, but they were submitted to the council, who, unable to refuse to consider them, were obliged to admit that they were reasonable. Five additional clauses were added, however, to which it was insisted that Philip should swear before the contract should be completed—

The English add five clauses, to which Philip must swear.

1. That no foreigner, under any circumstances,

CH. 31. should be admitted to any office in the royal household, in the army, the forts, or the fleet.

A.D. 1553.
December. 2. That the queen should not be taken abroad without her own consent; and that the children —should children be born—should not be carried out of England without consent of Parliament, even though among them might be the heir of the Spanish empire.

3. Should the queen die childless, the prince's connexion with the realm should be at an end.

4. The jewel-house and treasury should be wholly under English control, and the ships of war should not be removed into a foreign port.

5. The prince should maintain the existing treaties between England and France; and England should not be involved, directly or indirectly, in the war between France and the Empire.*

The Emperor consents, and the English council suddenly agree to the marriage. These demands were transmitted to Brussels, where they were accepted without difficulty, and further objection could not be ventured unless constraint was laid upon the queen. The sketch of the treaty, with the conditions attached to it, was submitted to such of the Lords and Commons as remained in London after the dissolution of Parliament, and the result was a sullen acquiescence.

An embassy was immediately announced as to be sent from Flanders. Count Egmont, M. de Courières, the Count de Lalaing, and M. de Nigry, Chancellor of the Golden Fleece, were

* Marriage Treaty between Mary, Queen of England, and Philip of Spain: RYMER, vol. vi.

coming over as plenipotentiaries of the Emperor. CH. 31.
Secret messengers went off to Rome to hasten A.D. 1553.
the dispensations—a dispensation for Mary to December.
marry her cousin, and a dispensation which also Dispensa-
was found necessary permitting the ceremony to tions are
be performed by a bishop in a state of schism. The sent for
marriage could be solemnized at once on their from Rome,
arrival, the ambassadors standing as Philip's and the
representatives, while Sir Philip Hoby, Bonner, presses
Bedford, and Lord Derby would go to Spain to haste.
receive the prince's oaths, and escort him to Eng-
land. Again and again the queen pressed haste.
Ash-Wednesday fell on the 6th of February, and in Lent she might not marry. Renard assured
her that the prince should be in her arms before Septuagesima, and all her trials would be over.
The worst danger which he now anticipated was
from some unpleasant collision which might arise
after the prince's landing; and he had advised Renard
the Emperor to have the Spaniards who would makes sug-
form the retinue selected for their meekness. gestions on
They would meet with insolence from the English, the compo-
which they would not endure, if they had the sition of
spirit to resent it; their dispositions, therefore, Philip's
must be mild and forgiving.* retinue.

And yet Renard could not hide from himself, England is
and the Lords did not hide from Mary, that their reluctant
consent was passive only; that their reluctance as ever,
was vehement as ever. Bedford said, if he went notwithstanding.
to Spain, he must go without attendants, for no one would accompany him. Lord Derby refused

* Renard to Charles V., December 11: *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 31. to be one of the ambassadors, and with Sir Edward Waldegrave and Sir Edward Hastings

A.D. 1553.
December.

The language of the people is menacing;

told the queen that he would leave her service if she persisted. The seditious pamphlets which were scattered everywhere created a vague terror in the court, and the court ladies wept and lamented in the queen's presence. The council in a body again urged her to abandon her intention. The peers met again to consider the marriage articles. Gardiner read them aloud, and Lord Windsor, a dull Brutus, who till then had never been known to utter a reasonable word, exclaimed, amidst general applause, 'You have told us fine things of the queen, and the prince, and the Emperor; what security have we that words are more than words?' Corsairs from Brest and Rochelle hovered in the mouth of the Channel to catch the couriers going to and fro between Spain and London and Brussels, and to terrify Philip with the danger of the passage. The Duke of Suffolk's brother and the Marquis of Winchester had been heard to swear that they would set upon him when he landed; and Renard began to doubt whether the alliance, after all, was worth the risk attending it.* Mary, however, brave in the midst of her perplexities, vowed that she would relinquish her hopes of Philip only with her life. An army of spies

* 'The English,' he said, 'sont si traietres, si inconstantes, si doubles, si malicieux, et si faciles à esmover qu'il ne se fault fier; et si l'alliance est grande, aussi est elle hazardeuse pour la personne de son Altesse.'—Renard to Charles V., December 12: *Rolle House MSS.*

watched Elizabeth day and night, and the Emperor, undeterred by Renard's hesitation, encouraged the queen's resolution. There could be no conspiracy as yet, Charles said, which could not be checked with judicious firmness; and dangerous persons could be arrested and made secure. A strong hand could do much in England, as was proved by the success for a time of the late Duke of Northumberland.*

CH. 31.
A.D. 1553.
December.

The advice fell in with Mary's own temperament; she had already been acting in the spirit of the King. A party of Protestants met in St. Matthew's Church on the publication of the acts of the late session, to determine how far they would obey them. Ten or twelve were seized on the spot, and two were hanged out of hand.† The queen told Hastings and Waldegrave that she would endure no opposition; they should obey her, or they should leave the council. She would raise a few thousand men, she said, to keep her subjects in order, and she would have a thousand Flemish horse among them. There was a difficulty about ways and means; as fast as money came into the treasury she had paid debts with it, and, as far as her means extended, she had replaced chalices and roods in the parish churches. But, if she was poor, five millions of gold had just arrived in Spain from the New World; and, as the Emperor suggested, her credit was good at Antwerp from her honesty. Lazarus Tucker came again to the

The queen
will raise
money, and
raise a
force to
keep her
subjects in
order.

* Charles V. to Renard, December 24 : *Rolls House MSS.*

† Renard to Charles V., December 20 : *Ibid.*

CH. 31. rescue. In November, Lazarus provided 50,000*l.*
 —————
 A.D. 1553.
 December. for her at fourteen per cent. In January she required 100,000*l.* more, and she ordered Gresham to find it for her at low interest or high.* Fortunately for Mary the project of a standing army could not be carried out by herself alone, and the passive resistance of the council saved her from commencing the attempt. Neither Irish mercenaries, nor Flemish, nor Welsh, as, two months after she was proposing to herself, were permitted to irritate England into madness.

Count Eg-
mont ar-
rives at
Calais, and
crosses the
Channel.

While Mary was thus buffeting with the waves, on the 23rd, Count Egmont and his three companions arrived at Calais. The French had threatened to intercept the passage, and four English ships-of-war had been ordered to be in waiting as their escort : these ships, however, had not left the Thames, being detained either by weather, as the admiral pretended, or by the ill-humour of the crews, who swore they would give the French cruisers small trouble, should they present themselves.† On Christmas-day ill-looking vessels were hanging in mid-channel, off Calais harbour, but the ambassadors were resolved to cross at all risks. They stole over in the darkness on the night of the 26th, and were at Dover by nine in the morning. Their retinue, a very large one, was sent on at once to London ; snow was

* The Queen to Sir Thomas Gresham : *Flanders MSS. Mary*, State Paper Office.

† Noailles to the King of France, December 6 : *Ambassades*, vol. ii.

on the ground, and the boys in the streets saluted CH. 31.
A.D. 1553.
December. the first comers with showers of balls. The ambassadors followed the next day, and were received in silence, but without active insult. The Emperor's choice of persons for his purpose had been judicious. The English ministers intended to be offensive, but they were disarmed by the courtesy of Egmont, who charmed every one. In ten days the business connected with the treaty was concluded. The treaty itself was sent to Brussels to be ratified, and the dispensations from Rome, and the necessary powers from the Prince of Spain, were alone waited for that the marriage might be concluded in public or in private, whichever way would be most expeditious. The queen cared only for the completion of the irrevocable ceremony, which would bring her husband to her side before Lent.*

The treaty
is con-
cluded,
and the
queen is to
be married
by proxy.

The interval of delay was consumed in hunting-parties† and dinners at the palace, where the courtiers played off before the guests the passions of their eager mistress.‡ The enemies of the mar-

* The Bishop of Arras to the Ambassadors in England : *Graville Papers*, vol. iv. p. 181, &c.

† The 10th day of January the ambassadors rode unto Hampton Court, and there they had as great cheer as could be had, and hunted and killed, tag and rag, with hounds and swords.—*MACHYN'S Diary*.

‡ After dinner Lord William Howard entered, and, seeing the queen pensive, whispered something to her in English ; then turning to us, he asked if we

knew what he had said ? The queen bade him not tell, but he paid no attention to her. He told us he had said he hoped soon to see somebody sitting there, pointing to the chair next her Majesty. The queen blushed, and asked him how he could say so. He answered that he knew very well she liked it ; whereat her Majesty laughed, and the court laughed, &c.—Egmont and Renard to Charles V : *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 31. ^{A.D. 1554.} ^{Jan. 10.}riage, French and English, had no time to lose, if they intended to prevent the completion of it.

The French court propose that a new treaty shall be concluded with England to provide for unforeseen contingencies.

When the queen's design was first publicly announced, the King of France directed Noailles to tell her frankly the alarm with which it was regarded at Paris. Henry and Montmorency said the same repeatedly, and at great length, to Dr. Wotton. The queen might have the best intentions of remaining at peace, but events might be too strong for her; and they suggested, at last, that she might give a proof of the good-will which she professed by making a fresh treaty with them.* That a country should be at peace while its titular king was at war, was a situation without a precedent. Intricate questions were certain to arise; for instance, if a mixed fleet of English and Spanish ships should escort the prince, or convoy his transports or treasure, or if English ships having Spaniards on board, should enter French harbours. A thousand difficulties such as these might occur, and it would be wise to provide for them beforehand.

^{The queen refused.}

The uneasiness of the court of Paris was not allayed when the queen met this most reasonable proposal with a refusal.† A clause, she replied, was added to the marriage articles for the maintenance of the existing treaties with France, and with that and with her own promises the French government ought to be content. In vain Noailles pointed out that the existing treaties would not

* NOAILLES.

† Ibid.

meet the new conditions; she was obstinate, and both Noailles and the King of France placed the worst interpretation upon her attitude. Philip, after his arrival, would unquestionably drag or lead her into his quarrels; and they determined, therefore, to employ all means, secret and open, to prevent his coming, and to co-operate with the English opposition.

CH. 31.
A.D. 1554.
January.

The time to act had arrived. Rumours were industriously circulated that the Prince of Spain was already on the seas, bringing with him ten thousand Spaniards, who were to be landed at the Tower, and that eight thousand Germans were to follow from the Low Countries. Noailles and M. d'Oysel, then on his way through London to Scotland, had an interview with a number of lords and gentlemen, who undertook to place themselves at the head of an insurrection, and to depose the queen. The whole country was crying out against her, and the French ministers believed that the opposition had but to declare itself in arms to meet with universal sympathy. They regarded the persons with whom they were dealing as the representatives of the national discontent; but on this last point they were fatally mistaken.

Noailles spoke generally of lords and gentlemen; but those with whom d'Oysel and himself had communicated were a party of ten or twelve of the pardoned friends of the Duke of Northumberland, or of men otherwise notorious among the ultra-Protestants; the Duke of Suffolk and his three brothers, Lord Thomas, Lord John, and Lord Leonard Grey; the Marquis of Northampton;

The French
ambassa-
dors com-
municate
with the
disaffected
gentlemen
in London.

The compo-
sition of
the con-
spiracy,
however,
is not a
promising
one.

- CH. 31. Sir Thomas Wyatt, son of the poet; Sir Nicholas Throgmorton; Sir Peter Carew; Sir Edmund Warner; Lord Cobham's brother-in-law; and Sir James Crofts, the late Deputy of Ireland.* Courtenay, who had affected orthodoxy as long as he had hopes of the queen, was admitted into the confederacy. Cornwall and Devonshire were to be the first counties to rise, where Courtenay would be all-powerful by his name. Wyatt undertook to raise Kent, Sir James Crofts the Severn border, Suffolk and his brothers the midland counties. Forces from these four points were to converge on London, which would then stir for itself. The French Admiral Villegaignon promised to keep a fleet on the seas, and to move from place to place among the western English harbours, wherever his presence would be most useful. Plymouth had been tampered with, and the mayor and aldermen, either really, or as a ruse to gain information, affected a desire to receive a French garrison.† 'For the sake of their cause the Protestant party were prepared to give to France an influence in England as objectionable in itself, and as offensive to the majority

* Noailles and d'Oysel to the King of France, January 15: *Ambassades*, vol. iii.

† 'Sire, tout maintenant enachevant cette lettre, les maire et aldermans de Plymouth, m'ont envoyé prier de vous supplier les vouloir prendre en votre protection, voulans et deliberans mettre leur ville entre vos mains, et y recepvoir dedans telle garrison

qu'il vous plaira y envoyer; s'estans resoubz de ne recevoir aulcunement le Prince d' Espagne, ne s'asservir en façon que ce soit à ses commandemens, et s'asseurans que tous les gentilhommes de l'entour d'icy en feroient de mesme.'—Noailles to the King of France: *Ambassades*, vol. ii. p. 342.

of the people, as the influence of Spain; and the CH. 31.
management of the opposition to the queen was snatched from the hands of those who might have brought it to some tolerable issue, by a set A.D. 1554. January.
of men to whom the Spanish marriage was but the stalking-horse for the reimposition of their late tyranny. If the Duke of Northumberland, instead of setting up a rival to Mary, had loyally admitted her to the throne which was her right, he might have tied her hands, and secured the progress of moderate reform. Had the great patriotic anti-papal party been now able to combine, with no disintegrating element, they could have prevented the marriage or made it harmless. But the ultra-party plunged again into treason, in which they would succeed only to restore the dominion of a narrow and blighting sectarianism.*

The ultra-Protestants were not acting wisely.

The conspirators remained in London till the second week in January. Wyatt went into Kent, Peter Carew ran down the Channel to Exmouth in a vessel of his own, and sent relays of horses as far as Andover for Courtenay, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton undertaking to see the latter thus far upon his way. The disaffection was already simmering in Devonshire. There was a violent scene among the magistrates at the Christmas quarter-sessions at Exeter. A countryman came

The conspirators separated to execute their intentions.

Symptoms of disturbance show themselves at Exeter.

* One of the projects mooted was the queen's murder; a scheme suggested by a man from whom better things might have been expected, William Thomas, the late Clerk of the Council. Wyatt,

however, would not stain the cause with dark crimes of that kind, and threatened Thomas with rough handling for his proposal.

CH. 31. in, and reported that he had been waylaid and searched by a party of strange horsemen in steel saddles, ‘under the gallows at the hill top,’ at Fair-mile, near Sir Peter Carew’s house. His person had been mistaken, it seemed, but questions were asked, inquiries made, and ugly language had been used about the queen. On Carew’s arrival the ferment increased. One of his lacqueys, mistaking intention for fact, whispered in Exeter that ‘my Lord of Devonshire was at Mohun’s Ottery.’* Six horses heavily loaded passed in, at midnight, through the city gates. The panniers were filled with harness and handguns from Sir Peter’s castle at Dartmouth.† Sir John Chichester, Sir Arthur Champernowne, Peter and Gawen Carew, and Gybbes of Silverton, had met in private, rumour said for no good purpose; and the Exeter Catholics were anxious and agitated. They had been all disarmed after the insurrection of 1549, the castle was in ruins, the city walls were falling down. Should Courtenay come, the worst consequences were anticipated.

The first embarrassments are created by Lord Courtenay, But Courtenay did not come. After Carew had left London, he became nervous; when the horses were reported to be ready, he lingered about the court; he flattered himself that the queen had changed her mind in his favour; and two nights before the completion of the treaty he sate up, affecting to expect to be sent for to

* The house of Sir Peter Carew. | on the State of Devonshire :
MS. Domestic, Mary, vol. ii.

† Miscellaneous Depositions | State Paper Office.

marry her on the spot.* Finding the message CH. 31.
did not arrive, he gave an order to his tailor to
prepare a splendid court costume, adding per-
haps some boasting words, which were carried to
Gardiner. The chancellor's regard for him was
sincere, and went beyond a desire to make him
politically useful. He sent for him, cross-ques-
tioned him, and by the influence of a strong
mind over a weak one, drew out as much as
Courtenay knew of the secrets of the plot.†

A.D. 1554.
January.
Who re-
veals the
conspiracy
to Gar-
diner.

The intention was to delay, if possible, an open declaration of rebellion a few weeks longer—till the Prince of Spain's arrival should raise the ferment to boiling point. Gardiner, who was determined, at all events, to prevent the Protestants from making head, informed the queen, without mentioning Courtenay's name, that he had cause to suspect Sir Peter Carew. A summons was despatched to Devonshire to require Sir Peter and his brother to return to London; and thus either to compel them to rise prematurely, without Courtenay's assistance, or, if they complied, to enable the court to secure their persons. The desired effect was produced; Carew had waded too deep in treason to trust himself in Gardiner's hands. Sir Peter Carew at-
tempts to raise Exeter;
He wrote an excuse, yet protesting his loyalty; and he invited the inhabitants of Exeter to join in a petition to the Crown against the marriage, as a first step towards a rising.

But the Carews were notorious and unpopular;

* Instructions to la Marque: NOAILLES, vol. iii. p. 25, &c.

† Noailles to the King of France: *Ambassades*, vol. iii. p. 31.

CH. 31. the justices of the peace at the sessions had been just occupied with a Protestant outrage committed by one of their nearest friends,* and their true object was suspected. The barns of Crediton were not forgotten, nor the massacre of the prisoners at Clyst, and without Courtenay they were powerless. Their invitation met with no response; and Chichester and Champernowne, seeing how the tide was setting, washed their hands of the connexion. Sir Thomas Dennys, a Catholic gentleman of the county, took command of Exeter, sent express for the sheriff, Sir Richard Edgecumbe, of Cottewill, to come to his help, and as well as he could he put the city in a state of defence.† Carew retired to Mohun's Ottery, when an order came to Dennys from the court for his arrest.

And, to
escape ar-
rest, flies to
France.

Dennys, who desired Carew's escape more than his capture, replied that for the moment he could not execute the order. Mohun's Ottery could not be taken without cannon, and wet weather had made the roads impassable. Meantime he gave Sir Peter notice of his danger; and Sir Peter, disposing in haste of his farm stock to raise a supply of money, crossed the country to

* 'On the morning of Christmas-day came twelve neighbours of Silverton, being the parish where Mr. Gybbes dwelleth, and they complained to me of a cross of latten, and of an altar-cloth stolen out of the church before that time; and that the cross was set up upon a gate or upon a hedge by the way, where the picture of Christ was dressed with a paste or such like tyre,

and the picture of our Lady and St. John tied by threads to the arms of the cross, like thieves.' 'Mr. Gybbes,' could not be actually convicted of having been the perpetrator, but he was 'vehemently suspected,' and, when examined, had used 'vile words.' —Depositions of John Prideaux: *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. ii. State Paper Office.

† Ibid.

Weymouth, embarked in a vessel which 'Mr. ^{Ch. 31.} Walter Raleigh' had brought round to meet him, ^{A.D. 1554.} and sailed for France.* ^{January.}

One arm of the conspiracy was thus lopped off at the first blow. But, although Courtenay's treachery was known, some days elapsed before the ill success of Carew was heard of in London. Courtenay had been trusted only so far as his intended share in the action had made it necessary to trust him, and the confederates were chiefly anxious that, having broken down, he should be incapacitated from doing further mischief by being restored to the Tower. Courtenay, wrote Noailles, has thrown away his chance of greatness, and will now probably die miserably. Lord Thomas Grey was heard to say that, as Courtenay had proved treacherous, he would take his place, and run his chance for the crown or the scaffold.†

The conspirators, however, resolve to persevere.

They would, perhaps, have still delayed till they had received authentic accounts from Devonshire; but the arrest of Sir Edmund Warner, and one or two others, assured them that too much of their projects had transpired; and on the 22nd of January Sir Thomas Wyatt called a meeting of his friends at Allingham Castle, on the Medway. The commons of Kent were the same brave, violent, and inflammable people whom John Cade, a century before, had led to London; the country gentlemen were generally under Wyatt's

Sir Thomas Wyatt calls a meeting at Alling- ham Castle,

* Depositions of John Prideaux: *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. ii.
State Paper Office.

† NOAILLES.

CH. 31. influence. Sir R. Southwell, the sheriff for the year, had been among the loudest objectors in parliament to the marriage; and if Southwell joined in the rising, he would bring with him Lord Abergavenny.* Lord Cobham, Wyatt's uncle, was known to wish him well. Sir Thomas Cheyne, the only other person of weight in the county, would be loyal to the queen, but Wyatt had tampered with his tenants; Cheyne could bring a thousand men into the field, but they would desert when led out, and there was nothing to fear from them. Whether Southwell and Cobham would act openly on Wyatt's side was the chief uncertainty; it was feared that Southwell might desire to keep within the limits of loyal opposition; Cobham offered to send his sons, but 'the sending of sons,' some member of the meeting said, 'was the casting away of the Duke of Northumberland; their lives were as dear to them as my Lord Cobham's was to him; let him come himself and set his foot by them.'† The result of the conference was a determination to make the venture. Thursday the 25th was the day agreed on for the rising, and the gentlemen present went in their several directions to prepare the people.

And the
day of the
rising is
fixed.

Meantime Gardiner was following the track which Courtenay had opened. He knew generally the leaders of the conspiracy, yet uncertain, in the universal perplexity, how any one would

* Confession of Anthony Norton: *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. iii. State Paper Office.

† *Ibid.*

act, he knew not whom to trust. To send CH. 31.
A.D. 1554.
Jan. 23.Courtenay out of the way, he allowed a project to be set on foot for despatching him on an embassy to Brussels; and anxious, perhaps, not to alarm Mary too much, he simply told her what she and Renard knew already, that treasonable designs were on foot to make Elizabeth queen. In a conversation about Elizabeth the chancellor agreed with Renard that it would be well to arrest her without delay. ‘Were but the Emperor Gardiner
and Renard
determine
to seize
Elizabeth. in England,’ Gardiner said, ‘she would be disposed of with little difficulty.’* Unfortunately, the spies had as yet detected no cause for suspicion on which the government could act legitimately.

Mary, ignorant that she was in immediate danger, and only vaguely uneasy, looked to Philip’s coming as the cure of her discomforts. ‘Let the prince come,’ she said to Renard, ‘and all will be well.’ She said she would raise eight thousand men and keep them in London as his guard and hers; she would send a fleet into the Channel and sweep the French into their harbours; only let him come before Lent, which was now but a fortnight distant: ‘give him my affectionate Mary sends
a message
to Philip. love,’ she added; ‘tell him that I will be all to him that a wife ought to be; and tell him, too [delightful message to an already hesitating bridegroom] tell him to bring his own cook with him’ for fear he should be poisoned.† The ceremony, could it have been accomplished, would have been

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

† Ibid.

CH. 31. a support to her; but the forms from Rome were long in coming. On the 24th the Emperor was at last able to send a brief, which, in the absence of the bulls, he trusted might be enough to satisfy the queen's scruples. Cuthbert Tunstal, who had been consecrated before the schism, might officiate, and the Pope would remove all irregularities afterwards.* But when the letter and the brief arrived Mary was at no leisure to be married.

Jan. 24. The proxy marriage is about to be celebrated.

Jan. 25. The Duke of Suffolk flies from London to Leicestershire.

Wyatt, having arranged the day for the rising, sent notice to the Duke of Suffolk, who was still in London. On the morning of the 25th an officer of the court appeared at the duke's house, with an intimation that he was to repair to the queen's presence. Suffolk was in a riding dress—'Marry!' he said, 'I was coming to her Grace; ye may see I am booted and spurred; I will but break my fast and go.'† The officer retired. The duke collected as much money as he could lay hands on—sent a servant to warn his brothers, and, though in bad health, mounted his horse and rode without stopping to Lutterworth, where, on the Sunday following, Lord John and Lord Thomas Grey joined him.

Kent rises. The same morning of the 25th an alarm was rung on the church bells in the towns and villages in all parts of Kent; and copies of a proclamation were scattered abroad, signifying

* Charles V. to the Ambassadors in England, January 24: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv.

† *Chronicle of Queen Mary.*

Baardo says that Suffolk was sent for to take command of the force which was to be sent against

Wyatt. But Wyatt's insurrection had not commenced, far less was any resolution taken to send a force against him. Noailles is, doubtless, right in saying that he was to have been arrested. —*Ambassades*, vol. iii. p. 48.

that the Spaniards were coming to conquer CH. 31.
the realm, and calling on loyal Englishmen to
rise and resist them. Wyatt's standard was A.D. 1554.
Jan. 25. raised at Rochester, the point at which the in-
surgent forces were to unite; his friends had
done their work well, and in all directions the
yeomen and the peasants rose in arms. Cheyne
threw himself into Dover Castle: Southwell and
Abergavenny held to the queen, as had been
feared: Abergavenny raised two thousand men,
and attacked and dispersed a party of insurgents
under Sir Henry Islly on Wrotham Heath; but
Abergavenny's followers deserted him imme-
diately afterwards, and marched to Rochester to
Wyatt; Southwell could do nothing; he believed
that the rebellion would spread to London, and
that Mary would be lost.*

On the 26th, Wyatt, being master of Rochester
and the Medway, seized the queen's ships that
were in the river, took possession of their guns
and ammunition, proclaimed Abergavenny,
Southwell, and another gentleman traitors to
the commonwealth,† and set himself to organize

* Southwell to Sir William Petre: *MS. Mary, Domestic*, State Paper Office.

† 'You shall understand that Henry Lord of Abergavenny; Robert Southwell, knight, and George Clarke, gentleman, have most traitorously, to the disturbance of the commonwealth, stirred and raised up the queen's most loving subjects of this realm, to [maintain the] most wicked and devilish enterprise of certain wicked and perverse counsellors, to the utter confusion of

this her Grace's realm, and the perpetual servitude of all her most loving subjects. In consideration whereof, we Sir Thos. Wyatt, knight, Sir George Harper, knight, Anthony Knyvet, esq., with all the faithful gentlemen of Kent, with the trusty commons of the same, do pronounce and declare the said Henry Lord of Abergavenny, Robert Southwell, and George Clarke to be traitors to God, the crown, and the commonwealth.' —*MS. Ibid.*

CH. 31. the force which continued to pour in upon him.

^{A.D. 1554.} ^{Jan. 26.} Messengers, one after another, hurried to London

with worse and worse news; Northampton was arrested and sent to the Tower, but Suffolk and his brothers were gone; and, after all which had been said of raising troops, when the need came for them there were none beyond the ordinary guard. The queen had to rely only on the musters of the city and the personal retainers of the council and the other peers; both of which resources she had but too much reason to distrust. In fact, the council, dreading the use to which the queen might apply a body of regular troops, had resisted all her endeavours to raise such a body; Paget had laboured loyally for a fortnight, and at the end he assured the queen on his knees that he had not been allowed to enlist a man.* Divided on all other points, the motley group of ministers agreed to keep Mary powerless; with the exception of Gardiner and Paget, they were all, perhaps, unwilling to check too soon a demonstration which, kept within bounds, might prove the justice of their own objections.

^{Jan. 27.} ^{Five hundred of the Londoners are sent to Rochester under the Duke of Norfolk.} The queen, however, applied to the corporation of the city, and obtained a promise of five hundred men; she gave the command to the Duke of Norfolk, on whose integrity she knew that she could rely; and, sending a herald to Rochester with a pardon, if the rebels would disperse, she despatched Norfolk, Sir Henry Jerningham, and the

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

young Lord Ormond, to Gravesend, without waiting for an answer. The city bands were to follow them immediately. Afraid that Elizabeth would fly before she could be secured, the queen wrote a letter to her studiously gracious, in which she told her that, in the disturbed state of the country, she was uneasy for her safety, and recommended her to take shelter with herself in the palace.* Had Elizabeth obeyed, she would have been instantly arrested; but she was ill, and wrote that she was unable to move. The next day evidence came into Gardiner's hands which he trusted would consign her at last to the scaffold.

The King of France had sent a message to the confederates that he had eighty vessels in readiness, with eighteen companies of infantry, and that he waited to learn on what part of the coast they should effect a landing.† The dangerous communication had been made known to the court. The French ambassador had been narrowly watched, and one of his couriers who left London on the 26th with despatches for Paris was followed to Rochester, where he saw, or attempted to see, Wyatt. The courier, after leaving the town, was

CH. 13.

A.D. 1554.
Jan. 27.

The French
ambas-
sador's
packet
is inter-
cepted at
Rochester,
and sent to
Gardiner.

* STRYPE, vol. v. p. 127. Mr. Tytler appeals to this letter as an evidence of the good feeling of the queen towards her sister; but many and genuine as were Mary's good qualities, she may not be credited with a regard for Elizabeth. Renard's letters explain her real sentiments, and account for her outward graciousness. She had al-

ready consulted with Renard and Gardiner on the necessity of sending her to the Tower; and, on the 29th of January, as the princess did not avail herself of the queen's proposal, Renard describes himself to the Emperor as pressing her immediate arrest.—*Rolls House MSS.*

† Renard to Charles V., January 29: *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 31. waylaid by a party of Lord Cobham's servants, in
 the disguise of insurgents; his despatches were
 taken from him and sent to the chancellor, who
 found in the packet a letter of Noailles to the
 king in cypher, and a copy of Elizabeth's answer
 to the queen. Although in the latter there was
 no treason, yet it indicated a suspicious corre-
 spondence. The cypher, could it be read, might
 be expected to contain decisive evidence against
 her.*

Saturday,
 Jan 27. Meantime the herald had not been admitted
 into Rochester. He had read the queen's mes-
 sage on the bridge, and, being answered by
 Wyatt's followers that they required no pardon,
 for they had done no wrong, he retired. Sir
 George Harper, who was joint commander
 with Wyatt, stole away the same evening
 to Gravesend, and presented himself to Nor-
 folk. The rebels, he said, were discontented

Sir George
 Harper in-
 vites the
 Duke of
 Norfolk to
 attack
 Wyatt.

* A letter from Gardiner to Sir William Petre is in the State Paper Office, part of which he wrote with the cypher open under his eyes in the first heat of the discovery. The breadth and depth of the pen-strokes express the very pulsation of his passion:—

'As I was in hand with other matters,' the paragraph runs, 'was delivered such letters as in times past I durst not have opened; but now, somewhat heated with these treasons, I waxed bolder, wherein I trust I shall be borne with; wherein hap helpeth me, for they be worth

the breaking up an I could wholly decypher them, wherein I will spend somewhat of my leisure, if I can have any. But this appeareth, that the letter written from my Lady Elizabeth to the Queen's Highness, now late in her excuse, is taken a matter worthy to be sent into France; for I have the copy of it in the French Ambassador's packet. I will know what can be done in the decyphering, and to-morrow remit that I cannot do unto you.'—Gardiner to Petre: *MS. Mary, Domestic*, State Paper Office.

and irresolute; for himself he desired to accept CH. 31.
 the queen's pardon, which he was ready to earn
 by doing service against them; if the duke A.D. 1554.
 would advance without delay, he would find no
 resistance, and Wyatt would fall into his hands. Jan. 27.

The London bands arrived the following afternoon, and Norfolk determined to take Harper's advice. The weather was 'very terrible.' On Monday morning it blew so hard that no boat could live; Wyatt, therefore, would be unable to escape by the river, and an immediate advance was resolved upon. Sir Thomas Cheyne was coming up from Dover; Lord William Howard was looked for hourly, and Abergavenny was again exerting himself: Lord Cobham had urged the duke to wait a few days, and had told him that he had certain knowledge from Wyatt himself that 'the Londoners would not fight':* but Norfolk was confident; the men had assured him of their loyalty; and at four o'clock on Monday afternoon he was on the sloping ground facing towards Rochester, within cannon-shot of the bridge. The duke was himself in front, with Ormond, Jerningham, and eight 'field-pieces,' which he had brought with him. A group of insurgents were in sight across the water, a gun was placed in position to bear upon them; and the gunner was blowing his match, when Sir Edward Bray galloped up, crying out that the 'white coats,' as the London men were called, were changing sides.

Sunday,
Jan. 28.

Monday,
Jan. 29.

Norfolk
follows
Harper's
advice.

* Norfolk to the Council from Gravesend, Sunday, January 28, Monday, January 29: *MS. Domestic, Mary*, State Paper Office.

CH. 31. The duke had fallen into a trap which Harper had laid for him.

A.D. 1554.
Jan 29.
The train
bands de-
sert, and
join Wyatt.

Turning round, he saw Brett, the London captain, with all his men, and with Harper at his side, advancing and shouting, 'A Wyatt! a Wyatt! we are all Englishmen!'

The duke flies.

The first impulse was to turn the gun upon them; the second, and more prudent, was to spring on his horse, and gallop with half a dozen others for his life. His whole force had deserted, and guns, money, baggage, and five hundred of the best troops in London fell into the insurgents' hands, and swelled their ranks.

No sooner was the duke gone, than Wyatt in person came out over the bridge. 'As many as will tarry with us,' he cried, 'shall be welcome; as many as will depart, let them go.' Very few accepted the latter offer. Three parts, even of Norfolk's private attendants, took service with the rebel leader.

The prestige of success decided all who were wavering in the county. Abergavenny was wholly forsaken; Southwell escaped to the court; Cheyne wrote to the council that he was no longer sure of any one; 'the abominable treason of those that came with the Duke of Norfolk had infected the whole population.* Cobham continued to hold off, but his sons came into Rochester the evening of the duke's flight; and Wyatt sent a

* 'It is a great deal more than strange,' he added, 'to see the beastliness of the people, to see how earnestly they be bent in this their most devilish enterprise, and will by no means be persuaded the contrary but that it is for the commonweal of all the realm.' — Cheyne to the Council: *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. iii.

message to the father expressing his sorrow that Ch. 31.
A.D. 1554.
Jan. 30.
Wyatt calls
on Cobham
to join him; he had been hitherto backward; promising to forgive him, however, and requiring him to be in the camp the next day, when the army would march on London. Cobham still hesitating, two thousand men were at the gates of his house* by daybreak the next morning. He refused to lower the drawbridge, but the chains were cut with a cannon-shot, the gates were blown open, and the rebels were storming in when his servants forced him to surrender. The house was pillaged; an oath was thrust on Cobham that he would join, which he took with the intention of breaking it; and the rebels, perhaps seeing cause to distrust him, carried him off to Wyatt as a prisoner.† That night the insurgents rested at Gravesend. Jan. 31. The next day they reached Dartford. Their actual numbers were insignificant, but their strength was the disaffection of London, where the citizens were too likely to follow the example which had been set at Rochester.

Mary's situation was now really alarming: she

* Cowling Castle, a place already famous in English Reforming history as the residence of Sir John Oldcastle.

† He contrived to send a letter to the queen the evening of the day on which his house was taken. After describing the scene, he added: 'If your Grace will assemble forces in convenient numbers, they not being above 2000 men, and yet not 500 of them able and good armed men, but rascals and rakehells

such as live by spoil, I doubt not but your Grace shall have the victory.' — Cobham to the Queen: *MS. State Paper Office.* But Cobham under-estimated the numbers, and undervalued the composition of Wyatt's forces, perhaps intentionally. Renard, who is generally accurate, says that the rebels at this time amounted to three thousand; Noailles says, twelve or fifteen thousand.

CH. 31. was without money, notwithstanding the Jews; she had no troops; of all her ministers Paget alone was sincerely anxious to do her service; for Gardiner, on the subject of the marriage, was as unwilling as ever. It was rumoured that the King of Denmark intended to unite with the French in support of the revolutionists, and Renard began calmly to calculate that, should this report prove true, the queen could not be saved. Pembroke and Clinton offered to raise another force in the city and fight Wyatt; but, so far as Mary could tell, they would be as likely to turn against her as to fight in her defence; and she declined their services. Renard offered Gardiner assistance from the Low Countries—Gardiner replied with extreme coldness that he had no desire to see Flemish soldiers in England—and the council generally were ‘so strange’ in their manner, and so languid in their action, that the ambassador could not assure himself that they were not Wyatt’s real instigators. Not a man had been raised to protect the queen, and part of her own guard had been among the deserters at Rochester. She appealed to the honour of the Lords to take measures for her personal safety; but they did nothing, and, it seemed, would do nothing; if London rose, they said merely, she must retire to Windsor.

Renard begins to doubt whether the marriage must not be relinquished. The aspect of affairs was so threatening, that Renard believed that the marriage at least would have to be relinquished. It seemed as if it could be accomplished only with the help of an invading army; and although Mary would agree

to any measure which would secure Philip, the presence of foreign troops, as the Emperor himself was aware, would only increase the exasperation.* The queen's resolution, however, grew with her difficulties. If she could not fight she would not yield; and, taking matters into her own hands, she sent Sir Thomas Cornwallis and Sir Edward Hastings to Dartford, with directions to speak with Wyatt, if possible, alone; to tell him that she 'marvelled at his demeanour,' 'rising as a subject to impeach her marriage;' she was ready to believe, however, that he thought himself acting in the interests of the commonwealth; she would appoint persons to talk over the subject with him, and if it should appear that the marriage would not, as she supposed, be beneficial to the realm, she would sacrifice her wishes.†

The message was not strictly honest, for the queen had no real intention of sacrificing anything. She desired merely to gain time; and, should Wyatt refuse, as she expected, she wished to place herself in a better position to appeal to her subjects for help.‡ But the move under this aspect was skilful and successful; when Cornwallis and Hastings discharged their commission, Wyatt replied that he would rather be trusted than trust: he would argue the marriage with pleasure, but he required first the custody

A.D. 1554.
Jan. 31.

The queen
sends a
message to
Wyatt,
offering to
hear his
objections.

Wyatt re-
quires im-
possible
conditions.

* Renard to the Emperor, January 29: *Rolls House MSS.* The Emperor to Renard, February 4: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. p. 204.

† Instructions to Sir Thomas Cornwallis and Sir Edward Hastings: *MS. State Paper Office*. ‡ Renard to the Emperor: *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 31. of the Tower, and of the queen's person, and four
 A.D. 1554. of the council must place themselves in his hands
 Jan. 31. as hostages.*

Feb. 1.
Egmont
offers to
defend
Mary with
his life;

But the
queen de-
clines his
services,
and sends
him out of
London.

Had Wyatt, said Noailles, been able to reach London simultaneously with this answer, he would have found the gates open and the whole population eager to give him welcome. To his misfortune he lingered on the way, and the queen had time to use his words against him. The two gentlemen returned indignant at his insolence. The next morning Count Egmont waited on Mary to say that he and his companions were at her service, and would stand by her to their death. Perplexed as she was, Egmont said he found her 'marvellously firm.' The marriage, she felt, must, at all events, be postponed for the present; the prince could not come till the insurrection was at an end; and, while she was grateful for the offer, she not only thought it best to decline the ambassador's kindness, but she recommended them, if possible, to leave London and the country without delay. Their party was large enough to irritate the people, and too small to be of use. She bade Egmont, therefore, tell the Emperor that from the first she had put her trust in God, and that she trusted in Him still; and for themselves, she told them to go at once, taking her best wishes with them. They obeyed. Six Antwerp merchant sloops were in the river below the bridge, waiting to sail. They stole on board, dropped down the tide, and were gone.

* HOLINSHED; NOAILLES.

The afternoon of the same day the queen herself, with a studied air of dejection,* rode through the streets to the Guildhall, attended by Gardiner and the remnant of the guard. In St. Paul's Churchyard she met Pembroke, and slightly bowed as she passed him. Gardiner was observed to stoop to his saddle. The hall was crowded with citizens; some brought there by hatred, some by respect, many by pity, but more by curiosity. When the queen entered she stood forward on the steps, above the throng, and, in her deep man's voice, she spoke to them.†

CH. 31.

A.D. 1554.

Feb. 1.

She goes to
the Guild-
hall and
addresses
the citizens.

Her subjects had risen in rebellion against her, she said: she had been told that the cause was her intended marriage with the Prince of Spain; and, believing that it was the real cause, she had offered to hear and to respect their objections. Their leader had betrayed in his answer his true motives; he had demanded possession of the Tower of London and of her own person. She stood there, she said, as lawful Queen of England, and she appealed to the loyalty of her great city to save her from a presumptuous rebel, who, under specious pretences, intended to 'subdue the laws to his will, and to give scope to rascals and forlorn persons to make general havoc and spoil.' As to her marriage, she had supposed that so

*She says
that Wyatt
is coming
to pillage
the city,
and en-
treats them
to protect
both them-
selves and
her.*

* Vous, assurant, sire, comme celluy qui l'a veu, que scaignant la dicte dame aller au dict lieu, je me deliberay en cape de veoir de quelle visage elle et sa compaignie y alloient; que je congneus estre aussy triste et des-

plorée qu'il se peult penser.— Noailles to the King of France, Feb. 1.

† La voce grossa et quasi di huomo. — Giovanni Michele ELLIS, vol. ii. series ii.

CH. 31. magnificient an alliance could not have failed to be agreeable to her people. To herself, and, she was not afraid to say, to her council, it seemed to promise high advantage to the commonwealth. Marriage, in itself, was indifferent to her; she had been invited to think of it by the desire of the country that she should have an heir; but she could continue happily in the virgin state in which she had hitherto passed her life. She would call a parliament and the subject should be considered in all its bearings; if, on mature consideration, the Lords and Commons of England should refuse to approve of the Prince of Spain as a fitting husband for her, she promised, on the word of a queen, that she would think of him no more.

She will consult parliament about her marriage, and if parliament desires, she will abandon it.

The spectacle of her distress won the sympathy of her audience; the boldness of her bearing commanded their respect; the promise of a parliament satisfied, or seemed to satisfy, all reasonable demands: and among the wealthy citizens there was no desire to see London in possession of an armed mob, in whom the Anabaptist leaven was deeply interfused. The speech, therefore, had remarkable success. The queen returned to Westminster, leaving the corporation converted to the prudence of supporting her. Twenty-five thousand men were enrolled the next day for the protection of the crown and the capital; Lord William Howard was associated with the mayor in the command; and Wyatt, who had reached Greenwich on Thursday, and had wasted two days there, uncertain whether he

Friday,
Feb. 2.
The citi-
zенs agree
to defend
her.

should not cross the river in boats to Blackwall, CH. 31.
arrived on Saturday morning at Southwark, to
find the gates closed on London bridge, and the
drawbridge flung down into the water.

A.D. 1554.
Saturday,
Feb. 3.

Noailles, for the first time, believed now that
the insurrection would fail. Success or failure,
in fact, would turn on the reception which the
midland counties had given to the Duke of
Suffolk; and of Suffolk authentic news had been
brought to London that morning.

On the flight of the duke being known at the
court, it was supposed immediately that he in-
tended to proclaim his daughter and Guilford
Dudley. Rumour, indeed, turned the supposition
into fact,* and declared that he had called on
the country to rise in arms for Queen Jane. But
Suffolk's plan was identical with Wyatt's; he had
carried with him a duplicate of Wyatt's procla-
mation, and, accompanied by his brother, he pre-
sented himself in the market-place at Leicester
on the morning of Monday the 29th. Lord
Huntingdon had followed close upon his track
from London; but he assured the Mayor of
Leicester that the Earl of Huntingdon was
coming, not to oppose, but to join with him. No
harm was intended to the queen; he was ready
to die in her defence; his object was only to save
England from the dominion of foreigners.

Suffolk at-
tempts to
raise Lei-
cestershire,

* 'The duke has raised evil-disposed persons, minding her Grace's destruction, and to advance the Lady Jane, his daughter, and Guilford Dudley, her husband.'—Royal Proclamation: *MS. State Paper Office.* Printed in the additional Notes to Mr. NICHOLS's *Chronicle of Queen Mary.* Baoardo says that the duke actually proclaimed Lady Jane.

CH. 31.

A.D. 1554.
Monday,
Jan. 29.Intending
to march
through
Coventry
and War-
wick to
London,

In consequence of these protestations, he was allowed to read his proclamation; the people were indifferent; but he called about him a few scores of his tenants and retainers from his own estates in the country; and, on Tuesday morning, while the insurgents in Kent were attacking Cowling Castle, Suffolk rode out of Leicester, in full armour, at the head of his troops, intending first to move on Coventry, then to take Kenilworth and Warwick, and so to advance on London. The garrison at Warwick had been tampered with, and was reported to be ready to rise. The gates of Coventry he expected to find open. He had sent his proclamation thither the day before, by a servant, and he had friends within the walls who had undertaken to place the town at his disposal.

The state of Coventry was probably the state of most other towns in England. The inhabitants were divided. The mayor and aldermen, the fathers of families, and the men of property were conservatives, loyal to the queen, to the mass, and to ‘the cause of order.’ The young and enthusiastic, supported by others who had good reasons for being in opposition to established authorities, were those who had placed themselves in correspondence with the Duke of Suffolk.

He sends a
servant to
Coventry to
prepare the
way.

Suffolk’s servant (his name was Thomas Rampton), on reaching the town, on Monday evening, made a mistake in the first person to whom he addressed himself, and received a cold answer. Two others of the townsmen, however, immediately welcomed him, and told him that

'the whole place was at his lord's commandment, CH. 31.
except certain of the town council, who feared that,
if good fellows had the upper hand, their extre- A.D. 1554.
mities heretofore should be remembered.* They Jan. 29.
took Rampton into a house, where, presently,
another man entered of the same way of think-
ing, and, in his own eyes, a man of importance.
'My Lord's quarrel is right well known,' this
person said, 'it is God's quarrel, let him come;
let him come, and make no stay, for this town is
his own. I say to you assuredly this town is his
own. I am it.'

It was now night; no time was to be lost, the townsmen said. They urged Rampton to return at once to Suffolk, and hasten his movements. They would themselves read the proclamation at the market-cross forthwith, and raise the people. Rampton, who had ridden far, and was weary, wished to wait till the morning; if they were so confident of success, a few hours could make no difference: but it appeared shortly that the 'good fellows' in Coventry were not exclusively under the influence of piety and patriotism. If a rising commenced in the darkness, it was admitted that 'undoubted spoil and per-adventure destruction of many rich men would ensue,' and with transactions of this kind the duke's servant was unwilling to connect himself.

The decent citizens, however, are on the queen's side.

Thus the hours wore away, and no resolution was arrived at; and, in the meantime, the town

* Rampton's Confession: *MS. Domestic, Mary*, vol. iii. State Paper Office.

CH. 31. council had received a warning to be on their guard. Before daybreak the constables were on the alert, the decent citizens took possession of the gates, and the conspirators had lost their opportunity. In the afternoon Suffolk arrived with a hundred horse under the walls, but there was no admission for him. Whilst he was hesitating which course to pursue, a messenger came in to say that the Earl of Huntingdon was at Warwick. The plot for the revolt of the garrison had been detected, and the whole country was on the alert. The people had no desire to see the Spaniards in England; but sober, quiet farmers and burgesses would not rise at the call of the friend of Northumberland, and assist in bringing back the evil days of anarchy.

The coun-
try will not
rise.

The Greys had now only to provide for their personal safety.

Suffolk had an estate a few miles distant, called Astley Park, to which the party retreated from Coventry. There the duke shared such money as he had with him among his men, and bade them shift for themselves. Lord Thomas Grey changed coats with a servant, and rode off to Wales to join Sir James Crofts. Suffolk himself, who was ill, took refuge with his brother, Lord John, in the cottage of one of his gamekeepers, where they hoped to remain hidden till the hue and cry should be over, and they could escape abroad.

Suffolk and
his brother
conceal
themselves.

The cottage was considered insecure. Two bowshots south of Astley Church there stood in the park an old decaying tree, in the hollow of which the father of Lady Jane Grey concealed

himself; and there, for two winter days and a night, he was left without food. A proclamation had been put out by Huntingdon for Suffolk's apprehension, and the keeper, either tempted by the reward, or frightened by the menace against all who should give him shelter, broke his trust—a rare example of disloyalty—and going to Warwick Castle, undertook to betray his master's hiding-place. A party of troopers were despatched, with the keeper for a guide; and, on arriving at Astley, they found that the duke, unable to endure the cold and hunger longer, had crawled out of the tree, and was warming himself by the cottage fire. Lord John was discovered buried under some bundles of hay.* They were carried off at once to the Tower, whither Lord Thomas Grey and Sir James Crofts, who had failed as signally in Wales, soon after followed them.†

The account of his confederates' failure saluted Wyatt on his arrival in Southwark, on the 3rd of February. The intelligence was being published, at the moment, in the streets of London; Wyatt himself, at the same time, was proclaimed traitor, and a reward of a hundred pounds was offered for his capture, dead or alive. The peril, however, was far from over; Wyatt replied to the proclamation by wearing his name, in large

Ch. 31.
A.D. 1554.
Jan. 30.

A game-keeper betrays them, and they are taken.

* Renard to the Emperor: *Bolls House MSS.*

† I follow Baoardo in the account of the duke's capture. Renard says that he was found in the tree by a little dog: 'qu'a Saturday,
Feb. 3.
Wyatt reaches
Southwark
to find
London
Bridge broken.'

esté grand commencement du miracle pour le succès prospere des affaires de la dicté dame.'—Renard to the Emperor, February 8: *MS.*

CH. 31. letters, upon his cap; the success of the queen's speech in the city irritated the council, who did not choose to sit still under the imputation of having approved of the Spanish marriage. They declared everywhere, loudly and angrily, that they had not approved of it, and did not approve; in the city itself public feeling again wavered, and fresh parties of the train-bands crossed the water and deserted. The behaviour of Wyatt's followers gave the lie to the queen's charges against them: the prisons in Southwark were not opened; property was respected scrupulously; the only attempt at injury was at Winchester House, and there it was instantly repressed; the inhabitants of the Borough entertained them with warm hospitality; and the queen, notwithstanding her efforts, found herself as it were besieged, in her principal city, by a handful of commoners, whom no one ventured, or no one could be trusted, to attack. So matters continued through Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday. The lawyers at Westminster Hall pleaded in harness, the judges wore harness under their robes; Doctor Weston sang mass in harness before the queen; tradesmen attended in harness behind their counters. The metropolis, on both sides of the water, was in an attitude of armed expectation, yet there was no movement, no demonstration on either side of popular feeling. The ominous strangeness of the situation appalled even Mary herself.*

The cypher
despatch of
Noailles is
read.

By this time the intercepted letter of Noailles had been decyphered. It proved, if more proof

* NOAILLES.

was wanted, the correspondence between the ambassador and the conspirators; it explained the object of the rising—the queen was to be de-throned in favour of her sister; and it was found, also, though names were not mentioned, that the plot had spread far upwards among the noblemen by whom Mary was surrounded. Evidence of Elizabeth's complicity it did not contain; while, to Gardiner's mortification, it showed that Courtenay, in his confessions to himself, had betrayed the guilt of others, but had concealed part of his own. In an anxiety to shield him the chancellor pronounced the cypher of Courtenay's name to be unintelligible. The queen placed the letter in the hands of Renard, by whom it was instantly read, and the chancellor's humour was not improved: Mary had the mortification of feeling that she was herself the last object of anxiety either to him or to any of her council; though Wyatt was at the gates of London, the council could only spend the time in passionate recriminations; Paget blamed Gardiner for his religious intolerance; Gardiner blamed Paget for having advised the marriage; some exclaimed against Courtenay, some against Elizabeth; but, of acting, all alike seemed incapable. If the queen was in danger, the council said, she might fly to Windsor, or to Calais, or she might go to the Tower. 'Whatever happens,' she exclaimed to Renard, 'I am the wife of the Prince of Spain; crown, rank, life, all shall go before I will take any other husband.'*

CH. 31.
A.D. 1554.
Feb. 5.

The council
are irreso-
lute, and
the queen
is advised
to fly.

* Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.* February 5.

CH. 31.

A.D. 1554.

Feb. 5.

The position, however, could not be of long continuance. Could Wyatt once enter London, he assured himself of success; but the gates on the Bridge continued closed. Cheyne and Southwell had collected a body of men on whom they could rely, and were coming up behind from Rochester. Wyatt proposed to return and fight them, and then cross the water at Greenwich, as had been before proposed; but his followers feared that he meant to escape; a backward movement would not be permitted, and his next effort was to ascertain whether the passage over the Bridge could be forced.

Wyatt
examines
London
Bridge,

Where he
cannot
pass.

London Bridge was then a long, narrow street. The gate was at the Southwark extremity; the drawbridge was near the middle. On Sunday or Monday night Wyatt scaled the leads of the gatehouse, climbed into a window, and descended the stairs into the lodge. The porter and his wife were nodding over the fire. The rebel leader bade them, on their lives be still, and stole along in the darkness to the chasm from which the drawbridge had been cut away. There, looking across the black gulf where the river was rolling below, he saw the dusky mouths of four gaping cannon, and beyond them, in the torch-light, Lord Howard himself, keeping watch with the guard: neither force nor skill could make a way into the city by London Bridge.

The course which he should follow was determined for him. The Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Brydges, a soldier and a Catholic, had looked across the water with angry eyes at the

insurgents collected within reach of his guns, and had asked the queen for permission to fire upon them. The queen, afraid of provoking the people, had hitherto refused; on the Monday, however, a Tower boat, passing the Southwark side of the water, was hailed by Wyatt's sentries; the watermen refused to stop, the sentries fired, and one of the men in the boat was killed. The next morning (whether permission had been given at last, or not, was never known), the guns on the White Tower, the Devil's Tower, and all the bastions, were loaded and aimed, and notice was sent over that the fire was about to open. The inhabitants addressed themselves, in agitation, to Wyatt; and Wyatt, with a sudden resolution, half felt to be desperate, resolved to march for Kingston Bridge, cross the Thames, and come back on London. His friends in the city promised to receive him, could he reach Ludgate by daybreak on Wednesday.

CH. 31.
A.D. 1554.
Feb. 5.

Feb. 6.
The Tower
guns pre-
pare to
open on
South-
wark.

On Tuesday morning, therefore, Shrove Tuesday, which the queen had hoped to spend more happily than in facing an army of insurgents, Wyatt, accompanied by not more than fifteen hundred men, pushed out of Southwark. He had cannon with him, which delayed his march, but at four in the afternoon he reached Kingston. Thirty feet of the bridge were broken away, and a guard of three hundred men were on the other side; but the guard fled after a few rounds from the guns, and Wyatt, leaving his men to refresh themselves in the town, went to work to repair the passage. A row of barges lay on the oppo-

Wyatt
marches to
Kingston
Bridge,

CH. 31. site bank ; three sailors swam across, attached ropes to them, and towed them over ; and, the barges being moored where the bridge was broken, beams and planks were laid across them, and a road was made of sufficient strength to bear the cannon and the waggons.

^{A.D. 1554.}
Feb. 7.
Where he crosses at night, and returns on London.

By eleven o'clock at night the river was crossed, and the march was resumed. The weather was still wild, the roads miry and heavy, and through the winter night the motley party plunged along. The Rochester men had, most of them, gone home, and those who remained were the London deserters, gentlemen who had compromised themselves too deeply to hope for pardon, or fanatics, who believed they were fighting the Lord's battle, and some of the Protestant clergy. Ponet, the late Bishop of Winchester, was with them; William Thomas, the late clerk of the council; Sir George Harper, Anthony Knyvet, Lord Cobham's sons, Pelham, who had been a spy of Northumberland's on the Continent,* and others more or less conspicuous in the worst period of the late reign.

From the day that Wyatt came to Southwark the whole guard had been under arms at Whitehall, and a number of them, to the agitation of the court ladies, were stationed in the queen's ante-chamber. But the guard was composed of dangerous elements. Sir Humfrey Radcliff, the lieutenant, was a 'favourer of the gospel';† and the

* The Regent Mary to the Ambassadors in England: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv.

† *Underhill's Narrative.*

Hot Gospeller; himself, on his recovery from his CH. 31.
ever, had returned to his duties.* No additional A.D. 1554.
Feb. 7.
recautions had been taken, nor does it seem that,
in Wyatt's departure, his movements were watched.
Kingston Bridge having been broken, his immediate
approach was certainly unlooked for; nor was
it till past midnight that information came to the The alarm
is given at
the palace
at mid-
night. The
queen is
called up,
and told
that she
must fly to
Windsor.
palace that the passage had been forced, and that the insurgents were coming directly back upon London. Between two and three in the morning the queen was called from her bed. Gardiner, who had been, with others of the council, arguing with her in favour of Courtenay the preceding day, was in waiting; he told her that her barge was at the stairs to carry her up the river, and she must take shelter instantly at Windsor.

Without disturbing herself, the Queen sent for Renard. Shall I go or stay? she asked.

Unless your Majesty desire to throw away

* Underhill, however, was too notorious a person to be allowed to remain on duty at such a time of danger.

'When Wyatt was come to Southwark,' he says, 'the pensioners were commanded to watch in armour that night at the court... After supper, I put on my armour, as the rest did, for we were appointed to watch all the night. So, being all armed, we came up into the chamber of presence with our poleaxes in our hands, wherewith the ladies were very fearful. Some lamenting, crying, and wringing their hands, said, Alas! there is some great mischief toward; we

shall all be destroyed this night. What a sight is this, to see the queen's chamber full of armed men: the like was never seen nor heard of! Mr. Norris, chief usher of Queen Mary's privy chamber, was appointed to call the watch to see if any were lacking; unto whom, Moore, the clerk of our check, delivered the book of our names; and when he came to my name, What, said he, what doth he here? Sir, said the clerk, he is here ready to serve as the rest be. Nay, by God's body, said he, that heretic shall not watch here. Give me a pen. So he struck my name out of the book.'

CH. 31. your crown, Renard answered, you will remain here till the last extremity; your flight will be known; the city will rise, seize the Tower, and release the prisoners; the heretics will massacre the priests, and Elizabeth will be proclaimed queen.

A.D. 1554.
Feb. 7.
Renard
tells her
that if she
goes she
will lose
her crown.

The Lords were divided. Gardiner insisted again that she must and should go. The others were uncertain, or inclined to the opinion of Renard. At last Mary said that she would be guided by Pembroke and Clinton. If those two would undertake to stand by her, she would remain and see out the struggle.*

Pembroke
promises to
support
her.

The city
musters are
called to
arms.

They were not present, and were sent for on the spot. Pembroke for weeks past had certainly wavered; Lord Thomas Grey believed at one time that he had gained him over, and to the last felt assured of his neutrality. Happily for Mary, happily, it must be said, for England—for the Reformation was not a cause to be won by such enterprises as that of Sir Thomas Wyatt—he decided on supporting the queen, and promised to defend her with his life. At four o'clock in the morning drums went round the city, calling the train-bands to an instant muster at Charing Cross. Pembroke's conduct determined the young lords and gentlemen about the court, who with their servants were swiftly mounted and under arms; and by eight, more than ten thousand men were stationed along the ground, then an open field, which slopes from Piccadilly to Pall Mall. The

* Renard to Charles V., February 8: *Rolls House MSS.*

road or causeway on which Wyatt was expected to advance, ran nearly on the site of Piccadilly itself. An old cross stood near the head of St. James's-street, where guns were placed; and that no awkward accident like that at Rochester might happen on the first collision, the gentlemen, who formed four squadrons of horse, were pushed forwards towards Hyde Park Corner.

Wyatt, who ought to have been at the gate of the city two hours before, had been delayed in the meantime by the breaking down of a gun in the heavy road at Brentford. Brett, the captain of the city deserters, Ponet, Harper, and others, urged Wyatt to leave the gun where it lay and keep his appointment. Wyatt, however, insisted on waiting till the carriage could be repaired, although in the eyes of every one but himself the delay was obvious ruin. Harper, seeing him obstinate, stole away a second time to gain favour for himself by carrying news to the court. Ponet, unambitious of martyrdom, told him he would pray God for his success, and, advising Brett to shift for himself, made away with others towards the sea and Germany.* It was nine o'clock before Wyatt brought the draggled remnant of his force, wet, hungry, and faint with their night march, up the hill from Knightsbridge. Near Hyde Park Corner a lane turned off; and here Pembroke had placed a troop of cavalry. The insurgents straggled on without order. When half of them

A.D. 1554.
Feb. 7.

Wyatt de-
layed by
the break-
ing of a
gun.

His force is
cut in two
at Hyde
Park Cor-
ner.

* Letter of William Markham: *Tanner MSS.* Bodleian Library.
Compare Stow.

CH. 31. had passed, the horse dashed out, and cut them in two, and all who were behind were dispersed or captured. Wyatt, caring now only to press forward, kept his immediate followers together, and went straight on. The queen's guns opened, and killed three of his men; but, lowering his head, he dashed at them and over them; then, turning to the right, to avoid the train-bands, he struck down towards St. James's, where his party again separated. Knyvet and the young Cobhams, leaving St. James's to their left, crossed the park to Westminster.

But Wyatt himself pushes on to Charing Cross. The guard fly, and he makes his way up the Strand. Wyatt went right along the present Pall-Mall, past the line of the citizens. They had but to move a few steps to intercept his passage, close in, and take him; but not a man advanced, not a hand was lifted; where the way was narrow, they drew aside to let him pass.

At Charing Cross Sir John Gage was stationed, with part of the guard, some horse, and among them Courtenay, who in the morning had been heard to say he would not obey orders; he was as good a man as Pembroke. As Wyatt came up Courtenay turned his horse towards Whitehall, and began to move off, followed by Lord Worcester. 'Fie! my Lord,' Sir Thomas Cornwallis cried to him, 'is this the action of a gentleman?'* But deaf, or heedless, or treacherous, he galloped off, calling Lost, lost! all is lost! and carried panic to the court. The guard had broken at his flight, and came hurrying behind him. Some cried that Pembroke had played false. Shouts of treason

* Renard to Charles V., February 8: *Rolls House MSS.*

rung through the palace. The queen, who had been watching from the palace gallery, alone retained her presence of mind. If others durst not stand the trial against the traitors, she said, she herself would go out into the field and try the quarrel, and die with those that would serve her.*

CH. 31.
A.D. 1554.
Feb. 7.
The queen
says she
will herself
take the
field.

At this moment Knyvet and the Cobhams, who had gone round by the old palace, came by the gates as the fugitive guard were struggling in. Infinite confusion followed. Gage was rolled in the dirt, and three of the judges with him. The guard shrunk away into the offices and kitchens to hide themselves. But Knyvet's men made no attempt to enter. They contented themselves with shooting a few arrows, and then hurried on to Charing Cross to rejoin Wyatt. At Charing Cross, however, their way was now closed by a company of archers, who had been sent back by Pembroke to protect the court. Sharp fighting followed, and the cries rose so loud as to be heard on the leads of the White Tower. At last the leaders forced their way up the Strand; the rest of the party were cut up, dispersed, or taken.†

The palace
is attacked
by a second
party of
rebels, who
are cut up
at Charing
Cross.

Wyatt himself, meanwhile, followed by three hundred men, had hurried on through lines of men who still opened to give him passage. He passed

* HOLINSHED.

† The dress of the Londoners who came with Wyatt being the city uniform, they were distinguished by the dirt upon their legs from their night march. The cry of Pembroke's men in the fight was 'Down with the daggletails!'

CH. 31. A.D. 1554.
Feb. 7.
Wyatt reaches Ludgate, which is closed in his face.

He turns, and attempts to fight his way back, but the way is closed. He surrenders, and is taken to the Tower.

Temple Bar, along Fleet-street, and reached Ludgate. The gate was open as he approached, when some one seeing a number of men coming up, exclaimed, ‘These be Wyatt’s antients.’ Muttered curses were heard among the bystanders; but Lord Howard was on the spot; the gates, notwithstanding the murmurs, were instantly closed; and, when Wyatt knocked, Howard’s voice answered, ‘Avaunt! traitor; thou shalt not come in here.’ ‘I have kept touch,’ Wyatt exclaimed; but his enterprise was hopeless now. He sate down upon a bench outside the Belle Sauvage-yard. His followers scattered from him among the by-lanes and streets; and, of the three hundred, twenty-four alone remained, among whom were now Knyvet and one of the young Cobhams. With these few he turned at last, in the forlorn hope that the train-bands would again open to let him pass. Some of Pembroke’s horse were coming up. He fought his way through them to Temple Bar, where a herald cried, ‘Sir, ye were best to yield; the day is gone against you; perchance ye may find the queen merciful.’ Sir Maurice Berkeley was standing near him on horseback, to whom, feeling that further resistance was useless, he surrendered his sword; and Berkeley, to save him from being cut down in the tumult, took him up upon his horse. Others in the same way took up Knyvet and Cobham, Brett and two more. The six prisoners were taken through the Strand back to Westminster, the passage through the city being thought dangerous; and from Whitehall stairs,

Mary herself looking on from a window of the CH. 31.
palace, they were borne off in a barge to the
A.D. 1554.
Feb. 8.

The queen had triumphed, triumphed through her own resolution, and would now enjoy the fruits of victory.

Had Wyatt succeeded, Mary would have lost her husband and her crown; and had the question been no more than a personal one, England could have well dispensed both with her and Philip. But Elizabeth would have ascended a throne under the shadow of treason. The Protestants would have come back to power in the thoughtless vindictiveness of exasperated and successful revolutionists; and the problem of the Reformation would have been more hard than ever of a reasonable solution. The fanatics had made their effort, and they had failed; they had shaken the throne, but they had not overthrown it; the queen's turn was come, and, as the danger had been great, so was the resentment. She had Renard at one ear protesting that, while these turbulent spirits were uncrushed, the precious person of the prince could not be trusted to her. She had Gardiner, who, always pitiless towards heretics, was savage at the frustration of his own schemes. Renard in the closet, Gardiner in the pulpit, alike told her that she must show no more mercy.* On Ash Wednesday

Renard and
Gardiner
urge the
queen to
severity.

* 'On Sunday, the 11th of February, the Bishop of Winchester preached in the chapel before the queen.' 'The preachers for the 7 years last past, he said, by dividing of words and other their own additions, had brought in many errors detestable unto

CH. 31. evening, after Wyatt's surrender, a proclamation forbade all persons to shelter the fugitive insurgents under pain of death. The 'poor caitiffs' were brought out of the houses where they had hidden themselves, and were given up by hundreds. Huntingdon came in on Saturday with Suffolk and his brothers. Sir James Crofts, Sir Henry Islly, and Sir Gawen Carew followed. The common prisons overflowed into the churches, where crowds of wretches were huddled together till the gibbets were ready for their hanging; the Tower wards were so full that Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were packed into a single cell; and all the living representatives of the families of Grey and Dudley, except two young girls, were now within the Tower walls, sentenced, or soon to be sentenced, to death.

The queen's blood is up at last, Renard wrote exultingly to the Emperor on the 8th of February;* 'the Duke of Suffolk, Lord Thomas Grey, and Sir James Crofts have written to ask for mercy, but they will find none; their heads will fall, and so with Courtenay's and Elizabeth's. I have told the queen that she must be especially prompt with these two. We have nothing now to hope for except that France will break the peace, and

the church of Christ.' 'He axed a boon of the Queen's Highness, that, like as she had beforetime extended her mercy particularly and privately, [and] so through her lenity and gentleness much conspiracy and open rebellion was grown she would now be

merciful to the body of the commonwealth and conservation thereof, which could not be unless the rotten and hurtful members thereof were cut off and consumed.'—*Chronicle of Queen Mary*, p. 54.

* *Rolls House MSS.*

then all will be well.' On the 12th of February the Ch. 31.
A.D. 1554.
February. ambassador was still better satisfied. Elizabeth had been sent for, and was on her way to London. A rupture with France seemed inevitable, and as to clemency, there was no danger of it. 'The queen,' he said, 'had told him that Anne of Cleves was implicated;' but for himself he was sure that the two centres of all past and all possible conspiracies were Elizabeth and Courtenay, and that when their heads, and the heads of the Greys, were once off their shoulders, she would have nothing more to fear. The prisoners were heretics to a man; she had a fair plea to despatch them, and she would then settle the country as she pleased;* 'the house of Suffolk would soon be extinct.'

The house of Suffolk would be extinct: that too, or almost that, had been decided on. Jane Grey was guiltless of this last commotion; her name had not been so much as mentioned among the insurgents; but she was guilty of having been once called queen, and Mary, who before had been generously deaf to the Emperor's advice, and to Renard's arguments, yielded in her present humour. Philip was beckoning in the distance; and while Jane Grey lived, Philip, she was again and again assured, must remain for ever separated from her arms.

Jane Grey, therefore, was to die—her execution was resolved upon the day after the victory; and the first intention was to put her to death on the Friday immediately approaching. In killing her

* Renard to Charles V. February 12: *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 31. body, however, Mary desired to have mercy on her soul; and she sent the message of death by the excellent Feckenham, afterwards Abbot of Westminster, who was to bring her, if possible, to obedience to the Catholic faith.

A.D. 1554.
Feb. 9.
The queen
sends
Feckenham
to convert
her before
death.

Feckenham, a man full of gentle and tender humanity, felt to the bottom of his soul the errand on which he was despatched. He felt as a Catholic priest—but he felt also as a man.

On admission to Lady Jane's room he told her that she was to die the next morning, and he told her, also, for what reason the queen had selected him to communicate the sentence.

She listened calmly. The time was short, she said; too short to be spent in theological discussion; which, if Feckenham would permit, she would decline.

Believing, or imagining that he ought to believe, that, if she died unreconciled, she was lost, Feckenham hurried back to the queen to beg for delay; and the queen, moved with his entreaties, resented the execution till Monday, giving him three more days to pursue his labour. But Lady Jane, when he returned to her, scarcely appreciated the favour; she had not expected her words to be repeated, she said; she had given up all thoughts of the world, and she would take her death patiently whenever her Majesty desired.*

* BAOARDO. The writer of the *Chronicle of Queen Mary*, says, 'She was appointed to have been put to death on Friday, but was

stayed—for what cause is not known.' Baoardo supplies the explanation.

Feckenham, however, still pressed his services, and courtesy to a kind and anxious old man, forbade her to refuse them. He remained with her to the end; and certain arguments followed on faith and justification, and the nature of sacraments; a record of which may be read by the curious in Foxe.* Lady Jane was wearied without being convinced. The tedium of the discussion was relieved, perhaps, by the now more interesting account which she gave to her unsuccessful confessor of the misfortune which was bringing her to her death.† The night before she suffered she wrote a few sentences of advice to her sister on the blank leaf of a New Testament. To her father, knowing his weakness, and knowing, too, how he would be worked upon to imitate the recantation of Northumberland, she sent a letter of exquisite beauty, in which the exhortations of a dying saint are tempered with the reverence of a daughter for her father.‡

A.D. 1554.
Feb. 12.
Which are
spent in
unfruitful
discus-
sions.

Lady Jane
prepares
for death.

The iron-hearted Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Brydges, had been softened by the charms of his prisoner, and begged for some memorial of her in writing. She wrote in a manual of English prayers the following words:—

‘Forasmuch as you have desired so simple a woman to write in so worthy a book, good Master Lieutenant, therefore I shall, as a friend, desire you, and as a Christian, require you, to call upon God

* Vol. vi. pp. 415-417.

† The story told by Baardo, to whom, it would seem, Feckenham related it.

‡ FOXE, vol. vi.

CH. 31. to incline your heart to his laws, to quicken you
 in his way, and not to take the word of truth
 A.D. 1554.
 Feb. 12. utterly out of your mouth. Live still to die, that
 by death you may purchase eternal life, and re-
 member how Methuselah, who, as we read in the
 Scriptures, was the longest liver that was of a
 man, died at the last: for, as the Preacher saith,
 there is a time to be born and a time to die; and
 the day of death is better than the day of our
 birth. Yours, as the Lord knoweth, as a friend.
 Jane Dudley.*

Guilford
 Dudley is
 first exe-
 cuted.

Her husband was also to die, and to die before
 her. The morning on which they were to suffer
 he begged for a last interview and a last embrace.
 It was left to herself to consent or refuse. If,
 she replied, the meeting would benefit either of
 their souls, she would see him with pleasure; but,
 in her own opinion, it would only increase their
 trial. They would meet soon enough in the other
 world.

* *Chronicle of Queen Mary*, p. 57, note. In the same manual are a few words in Guilford Dudley's hand, addressed to Suffolk, and a few words also addressed to Suffolk by Lady Jane. Mr. Nichols supposes that the book, (it is still extant among the *Harleian MSS.*), was used as a means of communicating with the duke when direct intercourse was unpermitted. If this conjecture is right, Lady Jane's letter, perhaps, never reached her father at all. There is some difficulty about the memorial which the Lieutenant of the Tower obtained from her.

BALBOA says, that she gave him a book, in which she had written a few words in Greek, Latin, and English.

'La Greca era tale. La morte dara la pena al mio corpo del fallo ma la mia anima giustificara inanzi al conspetto di Dio la innocenza mia.'

'La Latina diceva. Se la giustitia ha luogo nel corpo mio l'anima mia l'havera nella misericordia di Dio.'

'La Inglese. Il fallo e degno di morte ma il modo della mia ignoranza doueva meritare pieta e excusatione appresso il mondo e alle leggi.'

He died, therefore, without seeing her again. CH. 31.
 She saw him once alive as he was led to the scaffold, and again as he returned a mutilated corpse in the death-cart. It was not wilful cruelty. The officer in command had forgotten that the ordinary road led past her window. But the delicate girl of seventeen was as masculine in her heart as in her intellect. When her own turn arrived, Sir John Brydges led her down to the green; her attendants were in an agony of tears, but her own eyes were dry. She prayed quietly till she reached the foot of the scaffold, when she turned to Feckenham, who still clung to her side. ‘Go now,’ she said; ‘God grant you all your desires, and accept my own warm thanks for your attentions to me; although, indeed, those attentions have tried me more than death can now terrify me.’* She sprung up the steps, and said briefly that she had broken the law in accepting the crown; but as to any guilt of intention, she wrung her hands, and said she washed them clean of it in innocency before God and man. She entreated her hearers to bear her witness that she died a true Christian woman; that she looked to be saved only by the mercy of God and the merits of his Son: and she begged for their prayers as long as she was alive. Feckenham had still followed her, notwithstanding his dismissal. ‘Shall I say the *Miserere* psalm?’ she said to him.†

* Andate: che nostro Signore Dio vi contenti d'ogni vostro desiderio, e siate sempre infinitamente ringraziato della compagnia che m'havete fatta avenga che da quella sia stata molto

piu noia che hora non mi spaventa la morte.—BAOARDO.

† The 51st: ‘Have mercy on me, oh Lord, after thy goodness.’

A.D. 1554.
Feb. 12.

Lady Jane follows,

And, with
a few words
declaring
her innocence,

- CH. 31. When it was done, she let down her hair with her attendants' help, and uncovered her neck. The rest may be told in the words of the chronicler:—
- A.D. 1554.
Feb. 12.

'The hangman kneeled down and asked her forgiveness, whom she forgave most willingly. Then he willed her to stand upon the straw, which doing, she saw the block. Then she said I pray you despatch me quickly. Then she kneeled down, saying, Will you take it off before I lay me down; and the hangman answered No, Madam. She tied a kercher about her eyes; then, feeling for the block, she said, What shall I do; where is it? One of the bystanders guiding her thereunto, she laid her head down upon the block, and stretched forth her body, and said, Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit. And so ended.*

She dies.

The common prisoners are executed by wholesale.

The same day Courtenay was sent to the Tower, and a general slaughter commenced of the common prisoners. To spread the impression, gibbets were erected all over London, and by Thursday evening eighty or a hundred bodies† were dangling in St. Paul's Churchyard, on London Bridge, in Fleet-street, and at Charing Cross, in Southwark and Westminster. At all crossways and in all thoroughfares, says Noailles, 'the eye was met with the hideous spectacle of hanging men;'

* *Chronicle of Queen Mary,* pp. 58, 59.

† Renard says: 'A hundred were hanged in London and a hundred in Kent.' Stow says: 'Eighty in London and twenty-two in Kent.' The *Chronicle of*

Queen Mary does not mention the number of executions in London, but agrees with Stow on the number sent to Kent. The smaller estimate, in these cases, is generally the right one.

while Brett and a fresh batch of unfortunates were sent to suffer at Rochester and Maidstone. Day after day, week after week, commissioners sat at Westminster or at the Guildhall trying prisoners, who passed with a short shrift to the gallows. The Duke of Suffolk was sentenced on the 17th; on the 23rd he followed his daughter, penitent for his rebellion, but constant, as she had implored him to be, in his faith. His two brothers and Lord Cobham's sons were condemned. William Thomas, to escape torture, stabbed himself, but recovered to die at Tyburn. Lord Cobham himself, who was arrested notwithstanding his defence of his house, Wyatt, Sir James Crofts, Sir William St. Lowe, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and, as the council expressed it, 'a world more,' were in various prisons waiting their trials. Those who were suspected of being in Elizabeth's confidence were kept with their fate impending over them—to be tempted either with hopes of pardon, or by the rack, to betray their secrets.*

A.D. 1554.
Feb. 12

The Duke
of Suffolk
is executed.

The leaders
generally
are pre-
served, to
extract con-
fessions
from them
against
Elizabeth.

But, sooner or later, the queen was determined

* On Sunday, the 11th of February, the day on which he exhorted the queen to severity from the pulpit, Gardiner wrote to Sir William Petre, 'To-morrow, at your going to the Tower, it shall be good ye be earnest with one little Wyatt there prisoner, who by all likelihood can tell all. He is but a bastard, and hath no substance; and it

might stand with the Queen's Highness's pleasure there were no great account to be made whether ye pressed him to say truth by sharp punishment or promise of life.' — *MS. Domestic, Mary*, vol. iii. State Paper Office. I do not know to whom Gardiner referred in the words 'little Wyatt.'

CH. 31. that every one who could be convicted should die,*
 A.D. 1554.
 February. and beyond, and above them all, Elizabeth. Elizabeth's illness, which had been supposed to have been assumed, was real, and as the feeling of the people towards her compelled the observance of the forms of justice and decency, physicians were sent from the court to attend upon her. On the Feb. 18. 18th of February they reported that she could be moved with safety; and, escorted by Lord William Howard, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, she was brought by slow stages, of six or seven miles a day, to London.† Renard had described her to the Emperor as probably *enceinte* through some vile intrigue, and crushed with remorse and disappointment.‡

*Elizabeth
is brought
to London.*

*The queen
will not see
her, and
she is kept
a prisoner
at the
palace.*

To give the lie to all such slanders, when she entered the city, the princess had the covering of her litter thrown back; she was dressed in white, her face was pale from her illness, but the expression was lofty, scornful, and magnificent.§ Crowds followed her along the streets to Westminster. The queen, when she arrived at Whitehall, refused to see her; a suite of rooms was assigned for her confinement in a corner of the palace, from which there was no egress except by passing the guard, and there, with short attendance, she waited the result of Gardiner's investigations. Wyatt, by vague

* Renard to the Emperor : *Rolls House MSS.*

† The Order of my Lady Elizabeth's Grace's Voyage to the Court : *MS. Mary, Domestic,* vol. iii. State Paper Office.

‡ Renard to the Emperor, February 17 : *Rolls House MSS.*

§ 'Pour desguyser le regret qu'elle a,' says Renard, unable to relinquish his first conviction.

admissions, had already partially compromised her, and, on the strength of his words, and the discovery of the copy of her letter in the packet of Noailles, she would have gone direct to the Tower, had the Lords permitted. The Emperor urged instant and summary justice both on her and on Courtenay; the irritation, should irritation arise, could be allayed afterwards by an amnesty.* The Lords, however, insisted obstinately on the forms of law, the necessity of witnesses, and of a trial; and Renard watched their unreasonable humours with angry misgivings. It was enough, he said, that the conspiracy was undertaken in Elizabeth's interests; if she escaped now, the queen would never be secure.† In fact, while Elizabeth lived, the prince could not venture among the wild English spirits, and Charles was determined that the marriage should not escape him.

As soon as the rebellion was crushed, Egmont, attended by Count Horn, returned to complete his work. He brought with him the dispensations in regular form. He brought also a fresh and pressing entreaty that Elizabeth should be sacrificed. An opportunity had been placed

* Renard was instructed to exhort the queen: 'Que l'exécution et chastoy de ceulx qui le meritent se face tost; usant à l'endroit de Madame Elizabeth et de Cortenay comme elle verra convenir à sa sheureté, pour après user de clémence en l'endroit de ceux qu'il luy semblera, afin de tost rassurer le surplus. — The

Emperor to Renard: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. pp. 224, 225.

† Il est certain l'entreprise estoit en sa faveur. Et certes, sire, si pendant que l'occasion s'adonne elle ne la punyt et Cortenay, elle ne sera jamais assurée.—Renard to Charles V.: *Tytler*, vol. ii. p. 311.

CH. 31.
A.D. 1554.
February.

The Emperor
urges
her imme-
diate exe-
cution,

And Re-
nard holds
the form of
a trial to
be needless.

CH. 31.

A.D. 1554.
March.
And again
urges the
execution
of Eliza-
beth.

in the queen's hand, which her duty to the Church required that she should not neglect; and Egmont was directed to tell her that the Emperor, in trusting his son in a country where his own power could not protect him, relied upon her honour not to neglect any step essential to his security.* Egmont gave his message. The unhappy queen required no urging; she protested to Renard, that she could neither rest nor sleep, so ardent was her desire for the prince's safe arrival.† Courtenay, if necessary, she could kill; against him the proofs were complete; as to Elizabeth, she knew her guilt; the evidence was growing; and she would insist to the council that justice should be done.

The council
will no
longer
oppose the
marriage.

About the marriage itself, the Lords had by this time agreed to yield. Courtenay's pretensions could no longer be decently advanced, and Gardiner, abandoning a hopeless cause, and turning his attention to the restoration of the Church, would consent to anything, if, on his side, he might emancipate the clergy from the control of the civil power, and re-establish persecution. Two factions, distinctly marked, were now growing in the council—the party of the statesmen, composed of Paget, Sussex, Arundel, Pembroke, Lord William Howard, the Marquis of Winchester, Sir Edward Hastings, and Cornwallis: the party of the Church, composed of

* Renard to the Emperor, | pour le soucy elle tient de la
March 8: *Rolls House MSS.* | seure venue de son Altesse.—

† La quelle me respondit et | Renard to the Emperor: TYTLER,
afferme qu'elle ne dort ny repose | vol. ii.

Gardiner, Petre, Rochester, Gage, Jerningham, Ch. 31.
and Bourne. Divided on all other questions, —————
the rival parties agreed only no longer to oppose ^{A.D. 1554.} ~~March.~~
the coming of Philip. The wavering few had
been decided by the presents and promises which
Egmont brought with him from Charles. Pen-
sions of two thousand crowns had been offered
to, and were probably accepted by the Earls of
Pembroke, Arundel, Derby, and Shrewsbury;
pensions of a thousand crowns were given to
Sussex, Darcy, Winchester, Rochester, Petre, and
Cheyne; pensions of five hundred crowns to Pensions
Southwell, Waldegrave, Inglefield, Wentworth,
and Grey;* ten thousand crowns were distri-
buted among the officers and gentlemen who had
distinguished themselves against Wyatt. The
pensions were large, but, as Renard observed,
when Charles seemed to hesitate, several of the
recipients were old, and would soon die; and, as
to the rest, things in England were changing
from day to day, and means of some kind would
easily be found to put an early end to the pay-
ments.†

are distributed
among them by
Charles.

Unanimity having been thus secured, on the
day of Egmont's arrival Renard demanded an
audience of the Lords, and in the queen's presence
requested their opinion whether the condition of
England allowed the completion of the contract.
The life of the Prince of Spain was of great im-
portance to Europe; should they believe in their

* *Gravell Papers*, vol. iv. p. 267.

† Renard to Charles V., March 8: *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 31. hearts that he would be in danger, there was still time to close the negotiation. The rebellion having broken out and having failed, the Lords replied that there was no longer any likelihood of open violence. Arundel hinted, again, that the prince must bring his own cook and butler with him;* but he had nothing else to fear, if he could escape the French cruisers.

MARCH 6. These assurances, combined with the queen's secret promises about Elizabeth, were held sufficient; and on the 6th of March, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the ambassadors were conducted by Pembroke into the presence chamber. The queen, kneeling before the sacrament, called it to witness that, in consenting to the alliance with the Prince of Spain, she was moved by no carnal concupiscence, but only by her zeal for the welfare of her realm and subjects; and then, rising up, with the bystanders all in tears, she gave her hand to Egmont as Philip's representative. The blessing was pronounced by Gardiner, and the proxy marriage was completed.† The prince was to be sent for without delay, and Southampton was chosen as the port at which he should disembark, 'being in

And the queen is formally betrothed to him.

* Arundel nous dit qu'il convenoit que son alteze amena ses cuyseniers, sommeliers du cave, et autres officiers pour son bouche, que quantaux autres luy pourvoyereroit selon les coutumes d'Angleterre.—Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

† Puis par la main de l'Evesque de Winchester les pro-

messes et paroles de presenti, furent dictees et prononcées intellegiblement par la dict Egmont seul et la dict Dame.—Ibid. Compare TYTLER, vol. ii. p. 327. The great value of Mr. Tytler's work is diminished by the many omissions which he has permitted himself to make in the letters which he has edited.

the country of the Bishop of Winchester,' where CH. 31.
the people were, for the most part, good —————
Catholics. A.D. 1554.
March.

Parliament was expected to give its sanction without further difficulty; the opposition of the country having been neutralized by the same causes which had influenced the council. The queen, indeed, in going through the ceremony before consulting parliament, though she had broken the promise which she made in the Guildhall, had placed it beyond their power to raise difficulties; but other questions were likely to rise which would not be settled so easily. She herself was longing to show her gratitude to Providence by restoring the authority of the Pope; and the Pope intended, if possible, to recover his first-fruits and Peter's pence, and to maintain the law of the Church which forbade the alienation of Church property.* The English laity were resolute on their side to keep hold of what they had got; and to set the subject at rest, and to prevent unpleasant discussions on points of theology, Paget, with his friends, desired that the session should last but a few days, and that two measures only should be brought forward; the first for the confirmation of the treaty of marriage, the second to

Parliament
is about to
meet, when
unpleasant
questions
will be
raised.

* Pole's first commission granted him powers only 'concordandi et transigendicum possessoriibus bonorum ecclesiasticorum, (restitutis prius si expedire videatur immobilibus per eos indebitate detentis,) super fructibus male perceptis ac bonis mobilibus con-

sumptis.—Commission granted to Reginald Pole: WILKINS'S *Concilia*, vol. iv. Cardinal Morone, writing to Pole as late as June, 1554, said that the Pope was still unable to resolve on giving his sanction to the alienation.—BURNET'S *Collectanea*.

CH. 31. reassert the validity of the titles under which
 the Church estates were held by their present
 owners. If the queen consented to the last, her
 title of Head of the Church might be dropped
 informally, and allowed to fall into abeyance.*

A.D. 1554.
 March.
 Gardiner
 desires to
 recover the
 power of
 persecu-
 tion, and
 will have
 parliament
 meet at
 Oxford,

Where
 Cranmer,
 Ridley, and
 Latimer
 shall be
 the first to
 suffer.

Gardiner, however, saw in the failure of the insurrection an opportunity of emancipating the Church, and of extinguishing heresy with fire and sword.† He was preparing a bill to restore the ancient rigorous tyranny of the ecclesiastical courts; and by his own authority he directed that, in the writs for the parliament, the summons should be to meet at Oxford,‡ where the conservatism of the country would be released from the dread of the London citizens. The spirit which, thirteen years before, had passed the Six Articles Bill by acclamation, continued to smoulder in the slow minds of the country gentlemen, and was blazing freely among the lately persecuted priests. The Bishop of Winchester had arranged in his imagination a splendid melodrama. The session was to begin on the 2nd of April; and the ecclesiastical bill was to be the first to be passed. On the 8th of March, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were sent down to the university to be tried before a Committee of Convocation which had already decided on its verdict; and the Fathers of the Reformation were either to recant or to suffer the flaming penalties of heresy in the presence of

* Paget to Renard : TYTLER, | *House MSS.*; partially printed
 vol. ii. | by TYTLER.

† Par feug et sang.—Renard | ‡ Ibid.
 to Charles V., March 14: *Rolls*

the legislature, as the first-fruits of a renovated CH. 31.
Church discipline.

A.D. 1554.
March.

Vainly Renard protested. In the fiery obstinacy of his determination, Gardiner was the incarnate expression of the fury of the ecclesiastical faction, smarting, as they were, under their long degradation, and under the irritating consciousness of those false oaths of submission which they had sworn to a power which they loathed. Once before, in the first reaction against Protestant excesses, the Bishop of Winchester had seen the Six Articles Bill carried—but his prey had then been snatched from his grasp. Now, embittered by fresh oppression, he saw his party once more in a position to revenge their wrongs when there was no Henry any longer to stand between them and their enemies. He would take the tide at the flood, forge a weapon keener than the last, and establish the Inquisition.* Paget swore it should not be.† Charles V. himself, dreading a fresh interruption to the marriage, insisted that this extravagant fervour should be checked;‡ and the Bishop of Arras, the scourge of the Netherlands, interceded for moderation in England. But Gardiner and the clergy were not to be turned from the hope of their hearts by the private alarms of the Imperialists; and in the heart of the queen religious orthodoxy was Philip's solitary rival. Renard urged her to be prudent in religion and cruel to the political

Gardiner
desires to
establish
the Inqui-
sition,

And will
listen to no
remon-
strances.

* Establis form d'Inquisition contre les herétiques.—Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

† Ibid.

‡ La chaleur exorbitante.—Charles V. to Renard: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. p. 229.

CH. 31. prisoners. Gardiner, though eager as Renard to kill Elizabeth, would buy the privilege of working his will upon the Protestants by sparing Courtenay and Courtenay's friends. Mary listened to the worst counsels of each, and her distempered humour settled into a confused ferocity. So unwholesome appeared the aspect of things in the middle of March that, notwithstanding the formal contract, Renard almost advised the Emperor to relinquish the thought of committing his son among so wild a people.*

<sup>A.D. 1554.
March.</sup> Creation of As opposition to extreme measures was anticipated in the House of Lords, as well as Catholic bishops and peers. among the Commons, it was important to strengthen the bench of Bishops. The Pope had granted permission without difficulty to fill the vacant sees; and on the 1st of April six new prelates were consecrated at St. Mary Overyes, while Sir John Brydges and Sir John Williams of Thame were raised to the peerage.

The voice
in the wall
at Aldgate,

The Protestants, it must be admitted, had exerted themselves to make Gardiner's work easy to him. On the 14th of March the wall of a house in Aldgate became suddenly vocal, and seventeen thousand persons were collected to hear a message from Heaven pronounced by an angel. When the people said 'God save Queen Mary,' the wall was silent; when they said 'God save Queen Elizabeth,' the wall said 'Amen!' When they asked, 'What is the mass?' the wall said,

* Pour estre la plus part des Angloys sans foy, sans loy, confuz en la religion, doubles, in- | constans, et de nature jaloux et abhorrisans estrangiers.—*Rolls House MSS.*

'It is idolatry.' As the nation was holding its peace, the stones, it seemed, were crying out against the reaction. But the angel, on examination, turned out to be a girl concealed behind the plaster. Shortly after, the inhabitants of Cheap-side, on opening their shop windows in the morning, beheld on a gallows, among the bodies of the hanged insurgents, a cat in priestly robes, with crown shaven, the fore-paws tied over her head, and a piece of paper clipped round between them, representing the wafer.

Ch. 31.
A.D. 1554.
March.

And other
extrava-
gances of
the Pro-
testants.

More serious were the doings of a part of the late conspirators who had escaped to France. Peter Carew, when he left Weymouth, promised soon to return, and he was received at Paris with a cordiality that answered his warmest hopes. Determined, if possible, to prevent Philip from reaching England, the French had equipped every vessel which they possessed available for sea, and Carew was sent again to the coast of the Channel to tempt across into the French service all those who, like himself, were compromised in the conspiracy, or whose blood was hotter than their fathers'. Every day the queen was chafed with the news of desertions to their dangerous rendezvous. Young men of honourable families, Pickerings, Strangways's, Killegrews, Staffords, Stauntons, Tremaynes, Courtenays, slipped over the water, carrying with them hardy sailors from the western harbours. The French supplied them with arms, ships, and money; and fast-sailing, heavily-armed privateers, officered by these young adventurers in the cause of freedom, were

The discon-
tent
English
gentlemen
join Sir
Peter
Carew in
France.

The French
king pro-
vides them
with ships.

CH. 31.

A.D. 1554.
March.

The queen demands their extradition, which the King of France refuses.

cruising on their own account, plundering Flemish and Spanish ships, and swearing that the Prince of Spain should set no foot on English shores.*

The queen indignantly demanded explanations of Noailles, and, through her ambassador at Paris,

* The French and Calais correspondence in the State Paper Office contains a vast number of letters on this subject. The following extracts are specimens:—

On the 24th of March Thomas Corry writes to Lord Grey that, 'two hundred vessels be in readiness' in the French harbours. 'There is lately arrived at Caen in Normandy, Sir Peter Carew, Sir William Pickering, Sir Edward Courtenay, John Courtenay, Brian Fitzwilliam, and divers other English gentlemen. It is thought Sir Peter Carew shall have charge of the fleet. There be three ships of Englishmen, which be already gone to sea with Killigrew, which do report that they serve the king to prevent the coming of the King of Spain.'—*Calais MSS.*

On the 28th of March, Edgar Hormolden writes from Guines to Sir John Bourne: 'The number of Sir Peter Carew's retinues increaseth in France by the confluence of such English *qui potius alicujus praelari facinoris quam artis bona famam querunt;* and they be so entreated them as it cannot be otherwise conjectured but that they practise with France: insomuch I have heard credible intelligence that the said Carew

used this persuasion, of late, to his companions: Are not we, said he, allied with Normandy; yea! what ancient house is either there or in France, but we claim by them and they by us? why should we not rather embrace their love than submit ourselves to the servitude of Spain.'—*Ibid.*

April 17, Dr. Wotton writes in cypher from Paris to the queen: 'Yesterday, an Italian brought a letter to my lodging, and delivered it to a servant of mine, and went his way, so that I know not what he is. The effect of his letter is, that for because he taketh it to be the part of every good Christian man to further your godly purpose and Catholic doings, he hath thought good to advertise me that those fugitives of England say to their friends here that they have intelligence of great importance in England with some of the chiepest in the realm, which shall appear on the arrival of the Prince of Spain. Within few days they go to Normandy to embark themselves there, so strong, that, if they do not let the Prince of Spain to land, as they will attempt to do, yet they will not fail, by the help of them that have intelligence with them, to let him to come to London.'—*French MSS. bundle xi.*

she required the French government to seize 'her traitors,' and deliver them to her. Noailles,
C.H. 31.
A.D. 1554.
March. alarmed, perhaps, for his own security, suggested that it might be well to conceal Carew, and to affect to make an attempt to arrest him. But Henry, at once more sagacious and more bold, replied to the ambassador that 'he was not the queen's hangman' : 'these men that you require,' he said, 'deny that they have conspired anything against the queen; marry, they say they will not be oppressed by mine enemy, and that is no just cause why I should owe them ill-will.'* He desired Noailles, with quiet irony, to tell her Majesty 'that there was nothing in the existing treaties to forbid his accepting the services of English volunteers in the war with the Emperor: her Majesty might remember that he had invited her to make a new treaty, and that she had refused: 'he would act by the just letter of his obligations.'†

Would her subjects have permitted, the queen
The queen
is impo-
tently
angry. would have replied by a declaration of war. As it was, she could only relieve herself with indignant words.‡ But Carew and his friends might depend

* Wotton to the Queen:
French MSS. bundle xi. State Paper Office.

† Noailles to the King of France: *Ambassades*, vol. iii.

‡ 'When the ambassador replied that his master minded to do justly, her Grace remembering how those traitors be there aided, especially such of them as had conspired her death and were in arms in the field against her; and being not able to bear

those words, so contrary to their doings, told the ambassador that, for her own part, her Majesty minded simply and plainly to perform as she had promised, and might with safe conscience swear she ever meant so; but, for their part, her Grace would not swear so, and being those arrant traitors so entertained there as they be, she could not have found in her heart to have used, in like matter, the sem-

CH. 31. on support so long as they would make themselves useful to France. Possessed of ships and arms, they were a constant menace to the Channel, and a constant temptation to the disaffected; and,

A.D. 1554.
March.

<sup>The title of
the Queen
of Scots
may be
raised
against her.</sup> growing bitter at last, and believing that Elizabeth's life was on the point of being sacrificed, they were prepared to support Henry in a second attempt to seize the Isle of Wight, and to accept the French competitor for the English crown in the person of the Queen of Scots.* Thus fatally

<sup>The here-
ties play
into the
queen's
hand.</sup> the friends of the Reformation played into the hands of its enemies. By the solid mass of Englishmen the armed interference of France was more dreaded than even a Spanish sovereign; and the heresy became doubly odious which was tampering with the hereditary enemies of the realm. In London only the revolutionary spirit continued vigorous, and broke out perpetually in unexpected forms. At the beginning of

<sup>The battle
of the Lon-
don school-
boys.</sup> March three hundred schoolboys met in a meadow outside the city walls: half were for Wyatt and for France, half for the Prince of Spain; and, not all in play (for evidently they chose their sides by their sympathies), they joined battle, and

blable part towards his master, for the gain of two realms, and with those words she departed.' —Gardiner to Wotton : *French MSS.* bundle xi.

* On the 29th of April Wotton wrote in cypher to Mary : 'Towards the end of the summer the French king, by Peter Carew's provocation, intendeth to land the rebels, with a num-

ber of Scots, in Essex, and in the Isle of Wight, where they mean to land easily, and either go on, if any number of Englishmen resort unto them, as they say many will, or else fortify themselves there. They counsel the French king to make war against your Highness in the right and title of the young Queen of Scots.—*MS. Ibid.*

fought with the fierceness of grown men. The combat ended in the capture of the representative of Philip, who was dragged to a gallows, and would have been hanged upon it, had not the spectators interfered.* The boys were laid hands upon. The youngest were whipped, the elder imprisoned. It was said that the queen thought of gibbeting one of these innocents in real fact, for an example; or, as Noailles put it, as an expiation for sins of the people.†

Over Elizabeth, in the meantime, the fatal net appeared to be closing; Lord Russell had received a letter for her from Wyatt, which, though the Princess declared that it had never been in her hands, he said that he had forwarded; and Wyatt himself was flattered with hopes of life if he would extend his confession. Renard carried his ingenuity farther; he called in the assistance of Lady Wyatt, and promised her that her husband should be spared; he even urged the queen to gain over, by judicious leniency, a man whose apostacy would be a fresh disgrace to his cause, and who might be as useful as a servant as he had been dangerous as a foe.‡ Wyatt, being a man without solidity of heart, showed signs of yield-

CH. 31.
A.D. 1554.
March.

The court labour hard to induce Wyatt to accuse Elizabeth.

* The execution was commenced in earnest. The prince, says Noailles, 'fust soudainement mesné au gibet par ceux de la part du Roy et de M. Wyatt; et sans quelques hommes qui tout à propos y accoururent, ils l'eussent estranglé; ce que se peult clairement juger par les marques qu'il en a et aura

encores d'icy a long temps au col.'—Noailles to Montmorency: *Ambassades*, vol. iii.

† Dict on qu'elle veult que l'ung d'eux soit sacrifié pour tout le peuple.—Ibid.

‡ Ce qui faict juger a beaupcoup de gens que Wyatt ne mourra point, mais que la dicte dame le rendra tant son obligé

CH. 31.

A.D. 1554.
March.
Wyatt is tried and sentenced, but hopes of pardon are held out to him.

ing to what was required of him; but his revelations came out slowly, and to quicken his confession he was brought to trial on the 15th of March. He pleaded guilty to the indictment, and he then said that Courtenay had been the instigator of the conspiracy; he had written to Elizabeth, he said, to advise her to remove as far as possible from London, and Elizabeth had returned him a verbal message of thanks. This being not enough, he was sentenced to death; but he was made to feel that he might still earn his pardon if he would implicate Elizabeth more deeply; and though he said nothing definite, he allowed himself to drop vague hints that he could tell more if he pleased.*

At all events, however, sufficient evidence had

par ceste grace de luy rendre la vie qu'elle en pourra tirer beaulcoup de bone et grandes services. Ce qui se faict par le moyen dudit ambassadeur de l'Empereur par l'avis duquel se conduisent aujourd'huy toutes les opinions d'icelle dame, et lequel traicta ceste composition avecques la femme dudit Wyatt à laquelle comme l'on dict il a assuré la vie de sondict mari.—Noailles to the Constable of France, March 31. Renard's secrets were betrayed to Noailles by 'a corrupt secretary' of the Flemish embassy.—Wotton to the Queen: *French MSS.* bundle xi. State Paper Office.

* Noailles says: Wyatt a esté condamné à mourir; toutesfois il n'est encores executé et avant que luy prononcer sa sentence

on luy avoit promis tant de belles choses que vaincu par leur douces paroles oultre sa deliberation, il a accusé beaulcoup de personnes et parlé au desavantage de mylord de Courtenay et de Madame Elizabeth.—Noailles to d'Oysel, March 29. The different parties were so much interested in Wyatt's confession, that his very last words are so wrapped round with contradictions, that one cannot tell what they were. It is certain, however, that he did implicate Elizabeth to some extent; it is certain, also, that he did not say enough for the purposes of the court, and that the court believed he could say more if he would; for, on Easter Sunday he communicated, and the queen was distressed that he

been obtained in the opinion of the court for the committal of the Princess to the Tower. On the day of Wyatt's trial, the council met, but separated without a resolution; on Friday, the 16th, Elizabeth was examined before them in person; and when she withdrew, Gardiner required that she should be sent to the Tower instantly. Paget, supported by Sussex, Hastings, and Cornwallis, said that there was no evidence to justify so violent a measure.* Which of you, then, said Gardiner, with dexterous ingenuity, will be responsible for the safe keeping of her person?

The guardian of Elizabeth would be exposed to a hundred dangers and a thousand suspicions; the Lords answered that Gardiner was conspiring their destruction. No one could be found courageous enough to undertake the charge, and they gave their reluctant consent to his demand. The same night Elizabeth's attendants were removed, a hundred soldiers were picketed in the garden below her window, and on Saturday morning the Marquis of Winchester and Lord Sussex waited on her to communicate her destination, and to attend her to a barge.

should have been allowed to partake, while his confession was incomplete. As to Courtenay, Renard said he had communicated enough, 'mais quant à Elizabeth l'on ne peult encores tumber en preuves suffisantes pour les loys d'Angleterre contre elle.'—Renard to Charles V.: *Rolls House MSS.*

* Holinshed says that a certain lord exclaimed that there

CH. 31.

A.D. 1554.
March.

Gardiner proposes to send Elizabeth to the Tower.
The council resist,

But at last reluctantly consent.

March 17.

would be no safety for the realm until Elizabeth's head was off her shoulders; and either Holinshed himself, or his editor, wrote in the margin opposite, the words: 'The wicked advice of Lord Paget.'—Renard describes so distinctly the attitude of Paget, that there can be no doubt whatever of the injustice of such a charge against him.

CH. 31.

A.D. 1554.
March 17.

The terrible name of the Tower was like a death-knell; the Princess entreated a short delay till she could write a few words to the queen; the queen could not know the truth, she said, or else she was played upon by Gardiner. Alas! she did not know the queen: Winchester hesitated; Lord Sussex, more generous, accepted the risk, and promised, on his knees, to place her letter in the queen's hands.

The very lines traced by Elizabeth in that bitter moment may still be read in the State Paper Office,* and her hand was more than usually firm.

Elizabeth
writes to
the queen.

'If ever any one,' she wrote, 'did try this old saying that a king's word was more than another man's oath, I most humbly beseech your Majesty to verify it in me, and to remember your last promise, and my last demand, that I be not condemned without answer and due proof, which it seems that I now am: for that without cause proved I am by your council from you commanded to go unto the Tower, a place more wonted for a false traitor than a true subject: which, though I know I deserve it not, yet in the face of all this realm appears that it is proved; which I pray God that I may die the shamefulst death that any died, afore I may mean any such thing: and to this present hour I protest, afore God who shall judge my truth, whatsoever malice shall devise, that I never practised, counselled, nor consented to anything that might be prejudicial to your person anyway, or

* *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. iv. Printed by ELLIS, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 255.

dangerous to the State by any means. And I CH. 31.
therefore humbly beseech your Majesty to let me —————
answer afore yourself, and not suffer me to trust A.D. 1554.
to your councillors; yea, and that afore I go to
the Tower, if it is possible; if not, afore I be
further condemned. Howbeit, I trust assuredly
your Highness will give me leave to do it afore I
go, for that thus shamefully I may not be cried
out on, as now I shall be, yea, and without cause.
Let conscience move your Highness to take some
better way with me, than to make me be con-
demned in all men's sight, afore my desert known.
Also, I most humbly beseech your Highness to
pardon this my boldness, which innocency pro-
cures me to do, together with hope of your
natural kindness, which I trust will not see me
cast away without desert: which what it is I
would desire no more of God than that you truly
knew; which thing, I think and believe, you
shall never by report know, unless by yourself you
hear. I have heard in my time of many cast
away for want of coming to the presence of their
prince; and in late days I heard my Lord of
Somerset say that, if his brother had been suf-
fered to speak with him, he had never suffered;
but the persuasions were made to him so great,
that he was brought in belief that he could not
live safely if the admiral lived, and that made
him give his consent to his death. Though these
persons are not to be compared to your Majesty,
yet I pray God as evil persuasions persuade
not one sister against the other, and all for that
they have heard false reports, and not hearken to

March 17.

CH. 31. the truth known; therefore, once again kneeling with all humbleness of my heart, because I
 A.D. 1554.
 March 17. am not suffered to bow the knees of my body, I humbly crave to speak with your Highness, which I would not be so bold to desire if I knew not myself most clear, as I know myself most true. And as for the traitor Wyatt, he might peradventure write me a letter, but on my faith I never received any from him; and for the copy of my letter sent to the French king, I pray God confound me eternally if ever I sent him word, message, token, or letter by any means: * and to this my truth I will stand to my death your Highness's most faithful subject that hath been from the beginning, and will be to the end.

‘ELIZABETH.

‘I humbly crave but one word of answer from yourself.’

Lord Sussex carries the letter, which produces only irritation.

Had Elizabeth known the history of those words of the queen to her, to which she appealed, she would have spared herself the trouble of writing this letter. Sussex fulfilled his promise, and during the delay the tide turned, and the barge could not pass London Bridge till the following day. The queen could not venture to send the Princess through the streets; and in dread lest, at the last moment, her prey should

* As soon as Noailles learnt that his enclosure formed part of the case against Elizabeth, he came forward to acquit her of having furnished him with it; ‘jurant et blasphémant tous les sermens du monde pour la justification de la dicté Dame Elizabeth.’—Renard to Charles V., April 3: *Rolls House MSS.*

be snatched from her, she answered the appeal CH. 31.
only by storming at the bearer, and at his friends
in the council. ‘They were going no good way,’
A.D. 1554.
March 17.
she said, ‘for their lives they durst not have
acted so in her father’s time; she wished that he
was alive and among them but for a single
month.’*

At nine o’clock the next morning—it was Palm
Sunday—the two Lords returned to Elizabeth to
tell her that her letter had failed. As she crossed
the garden to the water she threw up her eyes to
the queen’s window, but there was no sign of re-
cognition. What do the Lords mean, she said,
that they suffer me thus to be led into captivity?
The barge was too deep to approach sufficiently
near to the landing-place at the Tower to enable
her to step upon the causeway without wetting
her feet; it was raining too, and the petty incon-
veniences, fretting against the dreadful associa-
tions of the Traitors’ Gate, shook her self-com-
mand. She refused to land; then sharply re-
jecting an offer of assistance, she sprung out upon
the mud. ‘Are all those harnessed men there
for me?’ she said to Sir John Gage, who was
waiting with the Tower guard. ‘No, madam,’
Gage answered. ‘Yes,’ she said, ‘I know it is
so; it needed not for me, being but a weak
woman. I never thought to have come in here a
prisoner,’ she went on, turning to the soldiers;
‘I pray you all good fellows and friends, bear me
witness that I come in no traitor, but as true a

Palm
Sunday,
March 18.
Elizabeth
at Traitors'
Gate.

* RENARD.

CH. 31.

A.D. 1554.
March.

woman to the Queen's Majesty as any is now living, and thereon will I take my death.' She threw herself down upon a wet stone ; Lord Chandos begged her to come under shelter out of the rain : 'better sitting here than in a worse place,' she cried ; 'I know not whither you will bring me.'

Sussex
warns the
Lieutenant
of the
Tower to
allow no
foul play.

But it was not in Elizabeth's nature to protract a vain resistance ; she rose, and passed on, and as she approached the room intended for her, the heavy doors along the corridor were locked and barred behind her. At the grating of the iron bolts the heart of Lord Sussex sank in him : Sussex knew the queen's true feelings, and the efforts which were made to lash her into cruelty ; 'What mean ye, my Lords,' he said to Chandos and Gage, 'what will you do ?' 'she was a king's daughter, and is the queen's sister ; go no further than your commission, which I know what it is.*'

The chief danger was of murder—of some swift desperate act which could not be undone ; the Lords who had so reluctantly permitted Elizabeth to be imprisoned would not allow her to be openly sacrificed, or indeed permit the queen to continue in the career of vengeance on which she had entered. The executions on account of the rebellion had not ceased even yet. In Kent, London, and in the midland counties, day after day, one, two, or more persons had been put to death ; six gentlemen were, at that very moment,

* Contemporary Narrative : *Harleian MSS. 419. Chronicle of Queen Mary*, p. 71. HOLINSHED.

on their way to Maidstone and Rochester to suffer. The Lords, on the day of Elizabeth's committal, held a meeting while Gardiner was engaged elsewhere; they determined to remonstrate, and, if necessary, to insist on a change of course, and Paget undertook to be the bearer of the message. He found Mary in her oratory after vespers; he told her that the season might remind a sovereign of other duties besides revenge; already too much blood had been shed; the noble house of Suffolk was all but destroyed; and he said distinctly that if she attempted any more executions, he and his friends would interfere; the hideous scenes had lasted too long, and, as an earnest of a return to mercy, he demanded the pardon of the six gentlemen.

CH. 31.
A.D. 1554.
March 18.
Palm Sunday.
Lord Paget waits on the queen, and requires her to end her cruelties.

Mary, as she lamented afterwards to Renard, was unprepared; she was pressed in terms which showed that those who made the request did not intend to be refused—and she consented.* The six gentlemen escaped; and, following up this beginning, the council, in the course of the week, extorted from her the release of Northampton, Cobham, and one of his sons, with five others. In a report to the Emperor, Renard admitted that, if the queen attempted to continue her course of justice, there would be resistance; and the party of the chancellor, being the weakest, would in that case be overwhelmed. It was the more necessary, therefore, that, by one means or another, Elizabeth should be disposed

Various prisoners are released.

* Renard to Charles V., March 22: *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 31. of. The queen had condescended to apologize to him for her second act of clemency, which she excused as being an Easter custom. It was not for him to find fault, he said that he had replied, if her Majesty was pleased to show mercy at the holy season; but it was his duty to remind her that he doubted whether the prince could be trusted with her.

*March.
Renard
taunts the
queen, and
hints that
Philip must
not come to
her,
And insists
on the
death of
Elizabeth.*

This argument never failed to drive Mary to madness; and, on the other side, Renard applied to Gardiner to urge despatch in bringing Elizabeth to trial: as long as she lived, he said, there was no security for the queen, for the prince, or for religion. Gardiner echoed the same opinion. If others, he said, would go to work as roundly as himself, all would be well.*

*April 2.
Parliament
meets, not
at Oxford,
but at
West-
minster.*

In this condition of the political atmosphere parliament assembled on the 2nd of April. The Oxford scheme had been relinquished as impracticable. The Lord Mayor informed the queen

* Il me repliqua que vivant Elizabeth il n'a espoir à la tranquillité du Royaulme, que quant à luy si chascun alloit si rondelement en besoyn comme il fait, les choses se porteroient mieux.
—Renard to the Emperor, April 3: *Rolls House MSS.* From these dark plotters, what might not be feared? Holinshed says that, while Elizabeth was in the Tower, a writ was sent down for her execution devised, as was believed, by Gardiner; and that Lord Chandos (Sir John Brydges the Lieutenant of the Tower) refused to put it in force. The story has been treated as a fable,

and in the form in which it is told by Holinshed, it was very likely untrue: yet, in the presence of these infernal conversations, I think it highly probable that, as the hope of a judicial conviction grew fainter, schemes were talked of, and were perhaps tried, for cutting the knot in a decisive manner. In revolutionary times men feel that if to-day is theirs, to-morrow may be their enemies'; and they are not particularly scrupulous. The anxious words of Sussex did not refer to the merely barring a prisoner's door.

that he would not answer for the peace of the city in the absence of the court; the Tower might be surprised and the prisoners released; and to lose the Tower would be to lose the crown. The queen said that she would not leave London while her sister's fate was undetermined.* The Houses met, therefore, as usual, at Westminster, and the speech from the throne was read in Mary's presence by the chancellor.

Since the last parliament, Gardiner said, the people of England had given proofs of unruly humour. The queen was their undoubted sovereign, and a measure would be submitted to the Lords and Commons to declare, in some emphatic manner, her claim to her subjects' obedience.

Her Majesty desiring, further, in compliance with her subjects' wishes, to take a husband, she had fixed her choice on the Prince of Spain, as a person agreeable to herself and likely to be a valuable friend to the realm: the people, however, had insolently and ignorantly presumed to mutiny against her intentions, and, in her affection for the commonwealth, her Majesty had consented to submit the articles of the marriage to the approval of parliament.

Again, her Majesty would desire them to take into their consideration the possible failure of the blood royal, and adopt necessary precautions to secure an undisturbed succession to the crown. It would be for the parliament to decide whether the privilege which had been granted to Henry

CH. 31.
A.D. 1554.
April 2.

The chancellor tells the Houses the subjects which will be proposed for their consideration.

CH. 31.

A.D. 1554.

April.

VIII. of bequeathing the crown by will might not be, with propriety, extended to her present Majesty.*

Finally, and at great length, the chancellor spoke of religion. The late rebellion, he said, was properly a religious rebellion; it was the work of men who despised the sacraments, and were the enemies of truth, order, and godliness. A measure would be laid before the legislature for the better restraint of irregular license of opinion.

The marriage was to pass quietly. Those of the Lords and Commons who persevered in their disapproval were a small minority, and did not intend to appear.† The bill, therefore, passed both Houses by the 12th of April.‡ The marriage articles were those originally offered by the Emperor, with the English clauses attached, and some explanatory paragraphs, that no room might be left for laxity of interpretation.§ Lord Bedford and Lord Fitzwalter had already gone to Plymouth, where a ship was in readiness to carry them to Spain. They waited only till the parliamentary forms were completed, and immediately sailed. Lord William Howard would go to sea with the fleet, at his earliest convenience, to protect the passage, and the prince might be expected in England by the end of May. The bill for the queen's authority was carried also without objection. The forms of English law running only in the name of a king, it had been pretended that a

The marriage bill passes without opposition, and Lord Bedford sails for Spain to bring Philip.

The bill for the queen's authority passes.

* NOAILLES, vol. iii. p. 151.

† Renard to Charles V., April 7.

‡ 1 Mary, cap. ii.

§ See the treaty of marriage between Philip and Mary in RYMER.

queen could not be a lawful sovereign. A declaratory statute explained that the kingly prerogative was the same, whether vested in male or female.* CH. 31.
A.D. 1554.
April.

Here, however, unanimity was at an end. The paragraph about the succession in the queen's speech being obviously aimed at Elizabeth, produced such an irritation in the council, as well as in parliament, that Renard expected it would end in actual armed conflict.†

From the day of Elizabeth's imprisonment Gardiner had laboured to extort evidence against her by fair means or foul.‡ She had been followed to the Tower by her servants. Sir John Gage desired that her food should be dressed by people of his own. The servants refused to allow themselves to be displaced,§ and, to the distress of Renard, angry words had been addressed to Gage by Lord Howard, so that they could not be removed by force.||

The temptation of life having failed, after all, to induce Wyatt to enlarge his confession beyond his first acknowledgments, it was determined to execute him. On the 11th of April he

An attempt
is made to
remove
Elizabeth's
servants.

Lord
Howard
threatens
Sir John
Gage.

* i Mary, cap. i.

† Y a telle confusion que l'on n'attend sinon que la querelle se demeure par les armes et tumults.—Renard to Charles V., April 22.

‡ Holinshed says, Edmund Tremayne was racked, and I have already quoted Gardiner's letter to Petre, suggesting the racking of 'little Wyatt.'

§ Her Grace's cook said to him, My Lord, I will never suffer

any stranger to come about her diet but her own sworn men as long as I live.—*Harleian MSS.* 419, and see HOLINSHED.

|| L'Admiral s'est coleré au grand chamberlain de la Royne que a la garde de la dicté Elizabeth et luy a dit qu'elle feroit encores trancher tant de testes que luy et autres s'en repentoient.—Renard to Charles V., April 7.: *Rolls House MSS.*

CH. 31. was brought out of his cell, and on his way to
 the scaffold he was confronted with Courtenay, to
 whom he said something, but how much or what
 it is impossible to ascertain.* Finding that his
 death was inevitable, he determined to make the
 only reparation which was any longer in his power
 to Elizabeth. When placed on the platform,
 after desiring the people to pray for him, lament-
 ing his crime, and expressing a hope that he
 might be the last person to suffer for the rebellion,
 he concluded thus:

Wyatt is taken to execution, and on the scaffold declares Elizabeth and Courtenay innocent.

'Whereas it is said abroad that I should accuse my Lady Elizabeth's Grace and my Lord Courtenay; it is not so, good people, for I assure you neither they nor any other now yonder in hold or durance was privy of my rising or commotion before I began.'†

The words, or the substance of them, were heard by every one. Weston, who attended as confessor, shouted, 'Believe him not, good people! he confessed otherwise before the council.'

* Lord Chandos stated the same day in the House of Lords that he threw himself at Courtenay's feet and implored him to confess the truth. The sheriffs of London, on the other hand, said that he implored Courtenay to forgive him for the false charges which he had brought against him and against Elizabeth.—FOXE, vol. vi. Compare *Chronicle of Queen Mary*, p. 72, note.

† So far the *Chronicle of Queen Mary*, Holinshed, Stow, and the narratives among the *Harlesian MSS.* essentially agree. But the chronicle fol-

lowed by Stow makes Wyatt add, 'As I have declared no less to the queen's council;' whereas Foxe says that he admitted that he had spoken otherwise to the council, but had spoken untruly. Noailles tells all that was really important in a letter to d'Oysel: 'M. Wyatt eust le testé coupée, deschargeant avant que de mourir Madame Elizabeth et Courtenay qu'il avoit auparavant chargé de s'estre entendus en son entrepris sur promesses que l'on luy avoit faites de luy sauver la vie.' — NOAILLES, vol. iii.

'That which I said then I said,' answered Wyatt, CH. 31.
 'but that which I say now is true.' The executioner did his office, and Wyatt's work, for A.D. 1554. April.
 good or evil, was ended.

All that the court had gained by his previous confessions was now more than lost. London rang with the story that Wyatt, in dying, had cleared Courtenay and Elizabeth.* Gardiner still thundered in the Star Chamber on the certainty of their guilt, and pilloried two decent citizens who had repeated Wyatt's words; but his efforts were vain, and the hope of a legal conviction was at an end. The judges declared that against Elizabeth there was now no evidence;† and, even if there had been evidence, Renard wrote to his master, that the court could not dare to proceed further against her, from fear of Lord William Howard, who had the whole naval force of England at his disposal, and, in indignation at Elizabeth's treatment, might join the French and the exiles.‡ Perplexed to know how to dispose of her, the ambassador and the chancellor thought of sending her off to Pomfret Castle; doubtless, if once within Pomfret walls, to find the fate of the Second Richard there: but again the spectre of Lord Howard terrified them.

The judges declare that there is no evidence against Elizabeth. Gardiner proposes to send her to Pomfret.

* Courtenay, however, certainly *was* guilty; and had Wyatt acquitted Elizabeth without naming Courtenay, his words would have been far more effective than they were. This, however, it was hard for Wyatt to do, as it would have been

equivalent to a repetition of his accusations.

† Les gens de loy ne trouvent matière pour la condamner.—Renard to Charles V., April 22: TYTLER, vol. ii.

‡ Ibid. And see a passage in the MS., which Mr. Tytler has omitted.

CH. 31.

A.D. 1554.

April.

The threatened escape of her sister, too, was but the beginning of the queen's sorrows. On the 17th of April Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried at the Guildhall for having been a party to the conspiracy. The confessions of many of the prisoners had more or less implicated Throgmorton. Cuthbert Vaughan, who was out with Wyatt, swore in the court that Throgmorton had discussed the plan of the insurrection with him; and Throgmorton himself admitted that he had talked to Sir Peter Carew and Wyatt about the probability of a rebellion. He it was, too, who was to have conducted Courtenay to Andover on his flight into Devonshire; and the evidence* leaves very little doubt that he was concerned as deeply as any one who did not actually take up arms. Sir Nicholas, however, defended himself with resolute pertinacity; he fought through all the charges against him, and dissected the depositions with the skill of a practised pleader; and in the end, the jury returned the bold verdict of 'Not guilty.' Sir Thomas Bromley urged them to remember themselves. The foreman answered they had found the verdict according to their consciences.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton is tried, and acquitted.

Their consciences probably found less difficulty in the facts charged against Throgmorton than in the guilt to be attached to them. The verdict was intended as a rebuke to the cruelty with which the rebellion had been punished, and it was received as an insult to the crown. The crowd,

* It is printed at length in HOLINSHED.

as Throgmorton left the court, threw up their caps and shouted. The queen was ill for three days with mortification,* and insisted that the jurors should be punished. They were arrested, and kept as prisoners till the following winter, when they were released on payment of the ruinous fine of 2000*l.* Throgmorton himself was seized again on some other pretext, and sent again to the Tower. The council, or Paget's party there, remonstrated against the arrest; they yielded, however, perhaps that they might make the firmer stand on more important matters.

Since Elizabeth could not be executed, the court were the more anxious to carry the Succession Bill. Gardiner's first desire was that Elizabeth should be excluded by name; but Paget said that this was impossible.† As little could a measure be passed empowering the queen to leave the crown by will, for that would be but the same thing under another form. Following up his purpose, notwithstanding, Gardiner brought out in the House of Lords a pedigree, tracing Philip's descent from John of Gaunt; and he introduced a bill to make offences against his person high treason. But at the second reading the important words were introduced, 'during the queen's

CH. 31.
A.D. 1554.
April.

The jury
are arrest-
ed, and
punished.

Gardiner
desires to
introduce
an act into
parliament
to disin-
herit
Elizabeth,
which
Paget will
not permit.

* Que tant alteré la dicté dame qu'elle a esté trois jours malade, et n'est encoores bien d'elle.—Renard to Charles V.: *TYTLER*, vol. ii. p. 374.

† He whom you wrote of comes to me with a sudden and strange proposal, that, since

matters against Madame Elizabeth do not take the turn which was wished, there should be an act brought into parliament to disinherit her. I replied that I would give no consent to such a scheme.—Paget to Renard: *TYTLER*, vol. ii. p. 382.

CH. 31. lifetime;* the bill was read a third time, and then disappeared; and Paget had been the loudest of its opponents.†

A.D. 1554.
April.

Beaten on the succession, the chancellor, in spite of Renard's remonstrances, brought forward next his Religious Persecution Bills. The House of Commons went with him to some extent; and, to secure success in some form or other, he introduced three separate measures, either of which would answer his purpose—a

Gardiner carries a
Persecution Bill in
the House of Com-
mons.

Bill for the restoration of the Six Articles, a Bill to re-enact the Lollard Statute of Henry IV., *De Heretico Comburendo*, and a Bill to restore (in more than its original vigour) the Episcopal Jurisdiction. The Six Articles had so bad a name that the first bill was read once only, and was dropped; the two others passed the Commons,‡ and, on the 26th of April, the Bishops' Authority Bill came before the Lords. Lord Paget was so far in advance of his time that he could not hope to appeal with a chance of success to his own principles of judicious latitudinarianism; but he determined, if possible, to prevent Gardiner's intended cruelties from taking effect, and he spread an alarm that, if the bishops were restored to their unrestricted powers, under one form or other the holders of the abbey lands would be at their mercy. To allay the suspicion, another bill was carried through the Commons, providing expressly for the safety of the holders of those lands; but

Paget,
however,
opposes it
in the
Upper
House.

* *Lords Journals.*

† Renard complains of Paget's conduct bitterly.—Renard to

Charles V., May 1: TYTLEE,

vol. ii.

‡ *Commons Journals.*

the tyranny of the Episcopal Courts was so recent, CH. 31.
and the ecclesiastics had shown themselves uniformly so little capable of distinguishing between right and wrong when the interests of religion were at stake, that the jealousy, once aroused, could not be checked. The irritation became so hot and so general as to threaten again the most dangerous consequences; and Paget, pretending to be alarmed at the excitement which he had raised, urged Renard to use his influence with the queen to dissolve parliament.*

A.D. 1554.
April.

Renard, who was only anxious that the marriage should go off quietly, agreed in the desirableness of a dissolution. He told the queen that the reform of religion must be left to a better opportunity; and the prince could not, and should not, set his foot in a country where parties were for ever on the edge of cutting each other's throats. It was no time for her to be indulging Gardiner in humours which were driving men mad, and shutting her ears to the advice of those who could ruin her if they pleased; she must think first of her husband. The queen protested that Gardiner was acting by no advice of hers; Gardiner, she said, was obstinate, and would listen to no one; she herself was helpless and miserable. But Renard was not to be moved by misery. At all events, he said, the prince should not come till late in the summer, perhaps not till autumn, not, in fact, till it could be seen what form these wild

Philip can
not come
into so
wild a
country.

* Paget to Renard: TYTLER, vol. ii. p. 382. And compare Renard's correspondence with the Emperor during the month of April.—*Rolls House MSS.*

Ch. 31. humours would assume; summer was the dangerous time in England, when the people's blood
 A.D. 1554. April was apt to boil.*

A committee of Convocation condemned Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.

April 20.

Gardiner, however, was probably not acting without Mary's secret approbation. Both the queen and the minister especially desired, at that moment, the passing of the Heresy Bill, and Renard was obliged to content himself with a promise that the dissolution should be as early as possible. Though parliament could not meet at Oxford, a committee of Convocation had been sitting there, with Doctor Weston, the adulterous Dean of Windsor, for a president. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer had been called upon to defend their opinions, which had been pronounced false and damnable. They had been required to recant, and, having refused, they were sentenced, so far as the power of the court extended, to the punishment of heretics.

Cranmer appealed from the judgment to God Almighty, in whose presence he would soon stand.

Ridley said the sentence would but send them the sooner to the place where else they hoped to go.

Latimer said, 'I thank God that my life has been prolonged that I may glorify God by this kind of death.'

Hooper, Ferrars, Coverdale, Taylor, Philpot, and Sandars, who were in London prisons, were to have been simultaneously tried and sentenced at Cambridge. These six, however, drew and signed a joint refusal to discuss their faith in a

* Pour ce qui ordinairement les humours des Angloys bouillissent plus en l'esté que en autre temps.

court before which they were to be brought as prisoners; and for some reason the proceedings against them were suspended; but whether they refused or consented was of little moment to the Bishop of Winchester; they were in his hands —he could try them when he pleased. A holocaust of heresiarchs was waiting to be offered up, and before a faggot could be lighted, the necessary powers had to be obtained from parliament.

CH. 31.
A.D. 1554.
April.

The bishop, therefore, was determined, if possible, to obtain those powers. He had the entire bench of prelates on his side; and Lord Howard, the Earl of Bedford, and others of the lay lords who would have been on the side of humanity, were absent. The opposition had to be conducted under the greatest difficulties. Paget, however, fought the battle, and fought it on broad grounds: the Bishops' bill was read twice; on the third reading, on the 1st of May, he succeeded in throwing it out: the Lollards' bill came on the day after, and here his difficulty was far greater; for toleration was imperfectly understood by Catholic or Protestant, and many among the peers, who hated the bishops, equally hated heresy. Paget, however, spoke out his convictions, and protested against the iniquity of putting men to death for their opinions.* The bill was read a first time on the day on which it was introduced; on the 4th of May it was read again,† but it went no

And Gardner determines to obtain powers, if possible, to burn them;

May 1.
May 2.

But Paget succeeds in defeating him.

* Quant l'on a parlé de la mort.—Renard to Charles V.,
peyne des herétiques, il a sollicité les sieurs pour non y consentir, y donner lieu à peyne de | May 1.
| † *Lords Journals.*

CH. 31. further. The next day parliament was dissolved.

A.D. 1554.
May. The peers assured the queen that they had no desire to throw a shield over heresy; the common law existed independent of statute, and the common law prescribed punishments which could still be inflicted.* But, so long as heresy was undefined, Anabaptists, Socinians, or professors of the more advanced forms of opinion, could alone fall within the scope of punishments merely traditional.

Danger of
an out-
break in
the council. The tempers of men were never worse than at that moment Renard wrote. In the heat of the debate, on the 28th of April, Lord Thomas Grey was executed as a defiance to the liberal party. Gardiner persuaded the queen, perhaps not without reason, that he was himself in danger

* There can, I think, be no doubt that it was this which the peers said. The statute of Henry IV. was not passed; yet the Queen told Renard, ‘que le peyne antienne contre les here-tiques fut agréé par toute la no-blesse, et qu’ilz fairent dire expremessement et publiquement qu’ilz entendoient l’heresie estre extirpée et punie.’ The chan-cellor informed Renard that, ‘although the Heresy Bill was lost, there were penalties of old standing against heretics which had still the form of law, and could be put in execution.’ And, on the 3rd of May, the Privy Council directed the judges and the queen’s learned counsel to be called together, and their opinions demanded, ‘what they think in law her Highness may

do touching the cases of Cran-
mer, Ridley, Latimer, being
already, by both the universities
of Oxford and Cambridge, judged
to be obstinate heretics, which
matter is the rather to be con-
sulted upon, for that the said
Cranmer is already attainted.’—
MS. Privy Council Register.

The answer of the judges I have
not found, but it must have been
unfavourable to the intentions of
the court. Joan Bocher was burnt
under the common law, for her
opinions were condemned by all
parties in the Church, and were
looked upon in the same light as
witchcraft, or any other profession
definitely devilish. But it was
difficult to treat as heresy, under
the common law, a form of belief
which had so recently been sanc-
tioned by act of parliament.

of being arrested by Paget and Pembroke;* and CH. 31.
an order was sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower
that if the chancellor was brought thither under A.D. 1554.
warrant of the council only, he was not to be May.
received.†

On the other hand, twelve noblemen and The Catho-
gentlemen undertook to stand by Mary if she would arrest Paget and Pembroke. The lics under-
stand by
chancellor, Sir Robert Rochester, and the Mar- the queen
quis of Winchester discussed the feasibility of in event of
seizing them; but Lord Howard and the Channel danger.
fleet were thought to present too formidable an obstacle. With the queen's sanction, however, they armed in secret. It was agreed that, on one pretence or another, Derby, Shrewsbury, Sussex, and Huntingdon should be sent out of London to their counties. Elizabeth, if it could be managed, should be sent to Pomfret, as Gardiner had before proposed; Lord Howard should be kept at sea; and, if opportunity offered, Arundel and Paget might, at least, be secured.‡

But Pomfret was impossible, and vexation thickened on vexation. Lord Howard was becoming a bugbear at the court. Report now said that two of the Staffords, whom he had named to command in the fleet, had joined the exiles in France; and for Lord Howard himself the queen could feel no security, if he was provoked too far. She was haunted by a misgiving that, while the prince was under his convoy, he might declare

* Renard to Charles V., May 13: *Rolls House MSS.*

† NOAILLES.

‡ Renard to Charles V., May 13: TYTLER, vol. ii.

CH. 31. against her, and carry him prisoner to France; or if Howard could himself be trusted, his fleet could not. On the eve of sailing for the coast of Spain, a mutiny broke out at Plymouth. The sailors swore that if they were forced on a service which they detested, both the admiral and the prince should rue it. Lord Howard, in reporting to the queen the men's misconduct, said that his own life was at her Majesty's disposal, but he advised her to reconsider the prudence of placing the prince in their power. Howard's own conduct, too, was far from reassuring. A few small vessels had been sent from Antwerp to join the English fleet, under the Flemish admiral Chappelle. Chappelle complained that Howard treated him with indifference, and insulted his ships by 'calling them cockle-shells.' If the crews of the two fleets were on land anywhere together, the English lost no opportunity of making a quarrel, 'hustling and pushing' the Flemish sailors;* and, as if finally to complete the queen's vexation, Lord Bedford wrote that the prince declined the protection of her subjects on his voyage, and that his departure was postponed for a few weeks longer.

And How-
ard affronts
the
Flemish
admiral.

The fleet had to remain in the Channel; it could not be trusted elsewhere; and the necessity of releasing Elizabeth from the Tower was another annoyance to the queen. A confinement at Woodstock was the furthest stretch of severity that the country would, for the present, permit.

Elizabeth is taken to Woodstock. On the 19th of May, Elizabeth was taken up the

* Les ont provoqué à debatz, les cerrans et poulsans.—Renard to Charles V.: *TYTLE*, vol. ii. p. 413.

river. The princess believed herself that she was being carried off *tanquam ovis*, as she said—as a sheep for the slaughter. But the world thought that she was set at liberty, and as her barge passed under the Bridge Mary heard, with indignation, from the palace windows, three salvoes of artillery fired from the Steelyard, as a sign of the joy of the people.* A letter from Philip would have been a consolation to her in the midst of the troubles which she had encountered for his sake; but the languid lover had never written a line to her; or, if he had written, not a line had reached her hand; only a ship which contained despatches from him for Renard had been taken, in the beginning of May, by a French cruiser, and the thought that precious words of affection had, perhaps, been on their way to her and were lost, was hard to bear.

In vain she attempted to cheer her spirits with the revived ceremonials of Whitsuntide. She marched, day after day, in procession, with canopies and banners, and bishops in gilt slippers, round St. James's, round St. Martin's, round Westminster.† Sermons and masses alternated, now with religious feasts, now with *Diriges* for her

* Samedy dernier Elizabeth fut tirée de la Tour et menée à Richmond ; et dois ledict Richmonde l'on l'a conduit à Woodstock pour y estre gardée sûrement jusques l'on la fasse aller à Pomfret. Et s'est rejouy le peuple de sa departye pensant qu'elle fut en liberté, et passant par devant la Maison des Still-

yards ilz tirerent trois coups d'artillerie en signe d'allegrerie, que la reyne et son conseil ont pris a desplaisir et regret, et estimons que l'on en fera démonstration.—Renard to Charles V.: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv.

† Machyn's Diary; STRYPE's *Memorials of the Reformation*.

CH. 31. father's soul. But all was to no purpose; she could not cast off her anxieties, or escape from the shadow of her subjects' hatred, which clung to her steps. Insolent pamphlets were dropped in her path and in the offices of Whitehall; she trod upon them in the passages of the palace; they were placed by mysterious hands in the sanctuary of her bedroom. At length, chafed with a thousand irritations, and craving for a husband who showed so small anxiety to come to her, she fled from London, at the beginning of June, to Richmond.

*Her mind
is shaken,
and she
grows
hysterical.*

The trials of the last six months had begun to tell upon Mary's understanding: she was ill with hysterical longings; ill with the passions which Gardiner had kindled and Paget disappointed. A lady who slept in her room told Noailles that she could speak to no one without impatience, and that she believed the whole world was in a league to keep her husband from her. She found fault with every one—even with the prince himself. Why had he not written? she asked again and again. Why had she never received one courteous word from him? If she heard of merchants or sailors arriving from Spain, she would send for them and question them; and some would tell her that the prince was said to have little heart for his business in England; others terrified her with tales of fearful fights upon the seas; and others brought her news of the French squadrons that were on the watch in the Channel.*

* Le double luy est souvent | chants mariniers et autres mal-
augmentée par plusieurs mar- | contens de son mariage qui

A.D. 1554.
May.

She would start out of her sleep at night, picturing CH. 31.
 a thousand terrors, and among them one to which
 all else were insignificant, that her prince, who
 had taken such wild possession of her imagination,
 had no answering feeling for herself—that,
 with her growing years and wasted figure, she
 could never win him to love her.*

A.D. 1554.
 June.

'The unfortunate queen,' wrote Henry of France, 'will learn the truth at last. She will wake too late, in misery and remorse, to know that she has filled the realm with blood for an object which, when she has gained it, will bring nothing but affliction to herself or to her people.'†

But the darkest season has its days of sunshine, and Mary's trials were for the present over. If the statesmen were disloyal, the clergy and the universities appreciated her services to the Church, and, in the midst of her trouble, Oxford congratulated her on having been raised up for the restoration of life and light to England.‡ More

She receives comfort from the University of Oxford.

venans de France et Espaign luy desguisent et luy controuuent un infinité de nouvelles estranges, les ungs du peu de volonté que le prince a de venir par deçà, lesaultres d'avoir ouy et entendus combats sur la mer et plusieurs d'avoir descouvert grand nombre de voisles François avec grand appareil.— Noailles to the King of France: *Ambassades*, vol. iii. p. 253.

* L'on m'a dict que quelques heures de la nuit elle entre en telle reuearie de ses amours et passions que bien souvent elle

se met hors de soy, et croy que la plus grande occasion de sa douleur vient du deesplaisir qu'elle a de veoir sa personne si diminuée et ses ans multiplier en telle nombre qu'ilz luy courent tous les jours a grande interest.—Ibid. p. 252.

† Ibid. p. 255.

‡ Nuper cum litterarum studia pene extincta jacerent cum salus omnium exiguâ spe dubiaque penderet quis non fortunæ incertos eventus extimescebat? Quis non ingemuit et arsit dolore? Pars studia deserere cogebantur; pars huc illuque

CH. 31. pleasant than this pleasant flattery was the arrival,
 A.D. 1554. on the 19th of June, of the Marquis de las Navas
 June. from Spain, with the news that by that time the
 prince was on his way.

Philip will come,

Precautions being taken for his safety.

It was even so. Philip had submitted to his unwelcome destiny, and six thousand troops being required pressingly by the Emperor in the Low Countries, they attended him for his escort. A paper of advices was drawn for the prince's use by Renard, directing him how to accommodate himself to his barbarous fortune. Neither soldiers nor mariners would be allowed to land. The noblemen, therefore, who formed his retinue, were advised to bring Spanish musketeers, disguised in liveries, in the place of pages and lacqueys; their arms could be concealed amidst the baggage. The war would be an excuse for the noblemen being armed themselves, and the prince, on landing, should have a shirt of mail under his doublet. As to manner, he must endeavour to be affable: he would have to hunt with the young lords, and to make presents to them; and, with whatever difficulty, he must learn a few words of English, to exchange the ordinary salutations. As a friend, Renard recommended Paget to him; he would find Paget 'a man of sense.'*

Philip, who was never remarkable for personal courage, may be pardoned for having come reluc-

quovis momento rapiebantur;
 nec ulli certus ordo suumve pro-
 positum diu constabat. — The
 unhappy change of the last year
 was then contrasted with proper
 point and prolixity.—The Uni-

versity of Oxford to the Queen :
MS. Domestic, Mary, vol. iv.
 * 'Homme d'esprit.' — In-
 structions données à Philippe,
 Prince d'Espagne: *Granvelle*
Papers, vol. iv. p. 267.

tantly to a country where he had to bring men- CH. 31.
at-arms for servants, and his own cook for fear of A.D. 1554.
being poisoned. The sea, too, was hateful to June.
him, for he suffered miserably from sickness.
Nevertheless, he was coming, and with him such
a retinue of gallant gentlemen as the world has
rarely seen together. The Marquis de los Valles,
Gonzaga, d'Aguilar, Medina Celi, Antonio de
Toledo, Diego de Mendoza, the Count de Feria,
the Duke of Alva, Count Egmont, and Count
Horn — men whose stories are written in the
annals of two worlds: some in letters of glorious
light, some in letters of blood which shall never
be washed out while the history of mankind sur-
vives. Whether for evil or good, they were not
the meek innocents for whom Renard had at one
time asked so anxiously.

In company with these noblemen was Sir Gresham brings
Thomas Gresham, charged with half a million of money from
money in bullion, out of the late arrivals from the Spain.
New World; which the Emperor, after taking security from the London merchants, had lent the queen, perhaps to enable her to make her marriage palatable by the restoration of the currency.*

Thus preciously freighted, the Spanish fleet, The Span-
a hundred and fifty ships, large and small, sailed
from Corunna at the beginning of July. The
voyage was weary and wretched. The sea-sick-
ness prostrated both the prince and the troops,

* Gresham's Correspondence: Flanders MSS. State Paper wards drawn in procession in
Office. The bullion was after carts through the London streets.

Ch. 31. and to the sea-sickness was added the terror of
 the French—a terror, as it happened, needless,
 A.D. 1554. June. for the English exiles, by whom the prince was
 to have been intercepted, had, in the last few weeks, melted away from the French service, with the exception of a few who were at Scilly. Sir Peter Carew, for some unknown reason, had written to ask for his pardon, and had gone to Italy;* but the change was recent and unknown, It advances and the ships stole along in silence, the orders of cautiously, in fear of the French, the prince being that not a salute should be fired to catch the ear of an enemy.† At last, on the But brings 19th of July, the white cliffs of Freshwater were Philip at last safe to sighted; Lord Howard lay at the Needles with Southampton. the English fleet; and on Friday, the 20th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the flotilla was safely anchored in Southampton Water.

The Lords of the Council are in waiting to receive him,

The queen was on her way to Winchester, where she arrived the next morning, and either in attendance upon her, or waiting at Southampton, was almost the entire peerage of England. Having made up their minds to endure the marriage, the Lords resolved to give Philip the welcome which was due to the husband of their sovereign, and in the uncertain temper of the people, their presence might be necessary to protect his person from insult or from injury.

It was an age of glitter, pomp, and pageantry;

* Wotton's Correspondence: *French MSS.* State Paper Office. The title of the Queen of Scots was, perhaps, the difficulty; or Carew may have felt that he could do nothing of real consequence, while he might increase the difficulty of protecting Elizabeth.

† Noailles to the King of France, July 23: *Ambassades*, vol. iii.

the anchors were no sooner down, than a barge CH. 31.
was in readiness, with twenty rowers in the
queen's colours of green and white; and Arundel,
Pembroke, Shrewsbury, Derby, and other lords
went off to the vessel which carried the royal
standard of Castile. Philip's natural manner was
cold and stiff, but he had been schooled into
graciousness. Exhausted by his voyage, he ac-
cepted delightedly the instant invitation to go on
shore, and he entered the barge accompanied by
the Duke of Alva. A crowd of gentlemen was
waiting to receive him at the landing-place. As
he stepped out—not perhaps without some
natural nervousness and sharp glances round
him—the whole assemblage knelt. A salute was
fired from the batteries, and Lord Shrewsbury
presented him with the order of the Garter.* An
enthusiastic eye-witness thus describes Philip's
appearance:—

'Of visage he is well-favoured, with a broad
forehead and grey eyes, straight-nosed and
manly countenance. From the forehead to the
point of his chin his face groweth small. His
pace is princely, and gait so straight and upright
as he loseth no inch of his height; with a yellow
head and a yellow beard; and thus to conclude, he
is so well proportioned of body, arm, leg, and every
other limb to the same, as nature cannot work a

A.D. 1554.
July 20.

And some
among the
spectators
look upon
him with
enthusi-
asm.

* Antiquaries dispute whether Philip received the Garter on board his own vessel, or after he came on shore. Lord Shrewsbury himself settles the important point. 'I, the Lord

Steward,' Shrewsbury wrote to Wotton, 'at his coming to land, presented the Garter to him.'—*French MSS. Mary, State Paper Office.*

CH. 31. more perfect pattern, and, as I have learned, of
 A.D. 1554. the age of 28 years. His Majesty I judge to be
 July. of a stout stomach, pregnant-witted, and of most
 gentle nature.*

He goes to church,

Sir Anthony Browne approached, leading a horse with a saddle-cloth of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold and pearls. He presented the steed, with a Latin speech, signifying that he was his Highness's Master of the Horse; and Philip, mounting, went direct to Southampton church, the English and Spanish noblemen attending bareheaded, to offer thanks for his safe arrival. From the church he was conducted to a house which had been furnished from the royal stores for his reception. Everything was, of course, magnificent. Only there had been one single oversight. Wrought upon the damask hangings, in conspicuous letters, were observed the ominous words, 'Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, and Supreme Head of the Church of England.'†

Here the prince was to remain till Monday to recover from his voyage; perhaps to ascertain, before he left the neighbourhood of his own fleet, the humour of the barbarians among whom he And thence had arrived. In Latin (he was unable to speak to a ban-
 quet, where French) he addressed the Lords on the causes he makes a speech.

* John Elder to the Bishop of Caithness: *Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, appendix 10. Elder adds that his stature was about that of a certain 'John Hume, my Lord of Jedward's kinsman,' which does not help our information. Philip, however, was short.
 † BAOARDO.

among those causes being the manifest will of CH. 31
God, to which he felt himself bound to submit. <sup>A.D. 1554.
July 21.</sup>
It was noticed that he never lifted his cap in speaking to any one,* but he evidently endeavoured to be courteous. With a stomach unrecovered from the sea, and disdaining precautions, he sate down on the night of his arrival to a public English supper; he even drained a tankard of ale, as an example, he said, to his Spanish companions.† The first evening passed off well, and he retired to seek such rest as the strange land and strange people, the altered diet, and the firing of guns, which never ceased through the summer night, would allow him.

Another feature of his new country awaited Philip in the morning; he had come from the sunny plains of Castile; from his window at Southampton he looked out upon a steady downfall of July rain. Through the cruel torrent; he made his way to the church again to mass, and afterwards Gardiner came to him from the queen. In the afternoon the sky cleared, and the Duchess of Alva, who had accompanied her husband, was taken out in a barge upon Southampton Water. Both English and Spanish exerted themselves to be mutually pleasing; but the situation was not of a kind which it was desirable to protract. Six thousand Spanish troops were cooped in the close uneasy transports, forbidden to land lest they should provoke the jealousy of the

* Non havendo mai levato la berretta a persona.—BAOARDO.

† NOAILLES.

† Crudele pioggia.—BAOARDO.

CH. 31. people; and when, on Sunday, his Highness had to undergo a public dinner, in which English servants only were allowed to attend upon him, the Castilian lords, many of whom believed that they had come to England on a bootless errand, broke out into murmurs.*

A.D. 1554.
July 22.
July 23. Monday came at last; the rain fell again, and the wind howled. The baggage was sent forward in the morning in the midst of the tempest. Philip lingered in hopes of a change; but no change came, and after an early dinner the trumpet sounded to horse. Lords, knights, and gentlemen had thronged into the town, from curiosity or interest, out of all the counties round. Before the prince mounted it was reckoned, with uneasiness, that as many as four thousand cavaliers, under no command, were collected to join the cavalcade.

A grey gelding was led up for Philip; he wrapped himself in a scarlet cloak, and started to meet his bride—to complete a sacrifice the least congenial, perhaps, which ever policy of state exacted from a prince.

The ride to
Winchester
in the rain. The train could move but slowly. Two miles beyond the gates a drenched rider, spattered with chalk mud, was seen galloping towards them; on reaching the prince he presented him with a ring from the queen, and begged his Highness, in her Majesty's name, to come no further. The messenger could not explain the cause, being unable to

* La Dominica Mattina se n'ando a messa et tornato a casa mangio in publico servito da gli officiali che gli haveva data la Reina con mala satisfattione de gli Spagnuoli i quali dubitando che la cosa non andasse a lungo mormoravano assai tra di loro.— BAOARDO.

speak any language which Philip could understand; and visions of commotion instantly presented themselves, mixed, it may be, with a hope that the bitter duty might yet be escaped. Alva was immediately at his master's side; they reined up, and were asking each other anxiously what should next be done, when an English lord exclaimed in French, with courteous irony, 'Our queen, sire, loves your Highness so tenderly that she would not have you come to her in such wretched weather.'* The hope, if hope there had been, died in its birth; before sunset, with drenched garments and draggled plume, the object of so many anxieties arrived within the walls of Winchester.

A.D. 1554.
July 23.

To the cathedral he went first, wet as he was. Whatever Philip of Spain was entering upon, whether it was a marriage or a massacre, a state intrigue or a midnight murder, his opening step was ever to seek a blessing from the holy wafer. He entered, kissed the crucifix, and knelt and prayed before the altar; then taking his seat in the choir, he remained while the choristers sang a *Te Deum laudamus*, till the long aisles grew dim in the summer twilight, and he was conducted by torchlight to the Deanery.

The queen was at the bishop's palace, but a few hundred yards distant. Philip, doubtless, could have endured the postponement of an interview till morning; but Mary could not wait, and

* 'Sire, la Nostra Reina ama tanto l'Altezza vostra ch'ella non vorebbe che pigliasse disagio di caminar per tempi così tristi.'—
BAOARDO.

CH. 31.

A.D. 1554.
July 23.
Philip and
the queen
meet.

The mar-
riage, and
the result
of it.

the same night he was conducted into the presence of his haggard bride, who now, after a life of misery, believed herself at the open gate of Paradise. Let the curtain fall over the meeting, let it close also over the wedding solemnities which followed with due splendour two days later. There are scenes in life which we regard with pity too deep for words. The unhappy queen, unloved, unloveable, yet with her parched heart thirsting for affection, was flinging herself upon a breast to which an iceberg was warm; upon a man to whom love was an unmeaning word, except as the most brutal of passions. For a few months she created for herself an atmosphere of unreality. She saw in Philip the ideal of her imagination, and in Philip's feelings the reflex of her own; but the dream passed away—her love for her husband remained; but remained only to be a torture to her. With a broken spirit and bewildered understanding, she turned to Heaven for comfort, and, instead of heaven, she saw only the false roof of her creed painted to imitate and shut out the sky.

Charles V.

The scene will change for a few pages to the Low Countries. Charles V. more than any other person was responsible for this marriage. He had desired it not for Mary's sake, not for Philip's sake, not for religion's sake; but that he might be able to assert a decisive preponderance over France; and, to gain his end, he had already led the queen into a course which had forfeited the regard of her subjects. She had murdered Lady

Jane Grey at the instigation of his ambassador, CH. 31.
and under the same influence she had done her
best to destroy her sister. Yet Charles, notwithstanding,
<sup>A.D. 1554.
July.</sup> was one of nature's gentlemen. If he
was unscrupulous in the sacrifice of others to his
purposes, he never spared himself; and in the
days of his successes he showed to less advantage
than now, when, amidst failing fortunes and
ruined health, his stormy career was closing.

In the spring he had been again supposed to
be dying. His military reputation had come out
tarnished from his failure at Metz, and while he
was labouring with imperfect success to collect
troops for a summer's campaign, Henry of France,
unable to prevent the English marriage, was pre-
paring to strike a blow so heavy, as should
enable him to dictate peace on his own terms
before England was drawn into the quarrel.

In June two French armies took the field. The French
Pietro Strozzi advanced from Piedmont into Bel-
gium in over-
Tuscany. Henry himself, with Guise, Montmo- whelming
rency, and half the peerage of France, entered
the Low Countries, sweeping all opposition before
him. First Marienbourg fell, then Dinant fell,
stormed with especial gallantry. The young
French nobles were taught that they must con-
quer or die: a party of them flinched in the
breach at Dinant, and the next morning Henry
sate in judgment upon them sceptre in hand;
some were hanged, the rest degraded from their
rank: 'and whereas one privilege of the gen-
tlemen of France was to be exempt from taylles

CH. 31. payable to the crown, they were made tayllable
as any other villains.*

A.D. 1554.

July.

From Dinant the French advanced to Namur. When Namur should have fallen, Brussels was the next aim; and there was nothing, as it seemed, which could stop them. The Imperial army under the Prince of Savoy could but hover, far outnumbered, on their skirts. The reinforcements from Spain had not arrived, and a battle lost was the loss of Belgium.

Charles leaves his sick bed, and flies to the army.

In the critical temper of England, a decisive superiority obtained by France would be doubly dangerous; and Charles, seeing Philibert perplexed into uncertain movements which threatened misfortune, disregarding the remonstrances of his physicians, his ministers, and his generals, started from his sick bed, flew to the head of his troops, and brought them to Namur, in the path of the advancing French. Men said that he was rushing upon destruction. The headstrong humour which had already worked him so heavy injury was again dragging him into ruin.† But

* Wotton to the Queen; cypher: *French MSS. Mary*, bundle xi.

† You shall understand that the Emperor hath suddenly caused his army to march towards Namur, and that himself is gone after in person; the deliberation whereof, both of the one and the other, is against the advice of his council, and all other men to the staying of him. Wherein Albert the Duke of Savoy, John Baptiste Castaldo, Don Hernando de Gonzaga, and

Andrea Doria have done their best, as well by letter as by their coming from the camp to this town, *civid voce* alleging to him the puissance of his enemy, the unhabitability as yet of his army to encounter with them, the danger of the chopping of them between him and this town, the hazard of himself, his estate, and all these countries, in case, being driven to fight, their army should have an overthrow; in the preservation whereof standeth the safety of the whole, and

fortune had been disarmed by the greatness with CH. 31.
which Charles had borne up against calamity, or
else his supposed rashness was the highest mili- A.D. 1554.
tary wisdom. Before Henry came up he had July.
seized a position at an angle of the Meuse, where He baffles
the invading army at
Namur.
he could defend Namur, and could not be himself attacked, except at a disadvantage. The French approached only to retire, and, feeling themselves unable to force the Imperial lines, fell back towards the Bouillonnois. Charles followed cautiously. An attack on Renty brought on an action in which the French claimed the victory; but the Emperor held his ground, and the town could not be taken; and Henry's army, from which such splendid results had been promised, fell back on the frontier and dispersed. The voices which had exclaimed against the Emperor's rashness were now as loud in his praise, and the disasters which he was accused of provoking, it was now found that he only had averted.* Neither the French nor the Impe-

twenty other arguments. Yet was there no remedy, but forth he would, and commanded them that they should march *sans plus repliquez*. His headiness hath often put him to great hindrance, specially at Metz, and another time at Algiers. This enterprise is more dangerous than they both. God send him better fortune than *multi omniantur*.—Mason to Petre, Brus-sels, July 10: *German MSS. Mary*, bundle 16, State Paper Office.

* The Emperor, in these nine

or ten days following of his enemy, hath showed a great courage, and no less skilfulness in the war; but much more notably showed the same when, with so small an army as he then had, he entered into Namur, a town of no strength, but commodious for the letting of his enemy's purpose, against the advice and persuasion of all his captains; which, if he had not done, out of doubt first Liège, and after, these countries had had such a foil as would long after have been remembered. By

CH. 31. rialists, in their long desperate struggle, can claim either approval or sympathy; the sufferings
 A.D. 1554.
 July. which they inflicted upon mankind were not the less real, the selfishness of their rivalry none the less reprehensible, because the disunion of the Catholic powers permitted the Reformation to establish itself. Yet, in this perplexed world, the deeds of men may be without excuse, while, nevertheless, in the men themselves there may be something to love, and something more to admire.

his own wisdom and uncon- | trated.'—Mason to the Council,
 quered courage the enemy's | Aug. 13: *German MSS. Mary,*
 meaning that way was frus- | bundle 16, State Paper Office.





CHAPTER XXXII.

RECONCILIATION WITH ROME.

MARY had restored Catholic orthodoxy, and CH. 32.
her passion for Philip had been gratified. ————— A.D. 1554.
To complete her work and her happiness, it re-
mained to bring back her subjects to the bosom of
the Catholic Church. Reginald Pole had by this
time awoke from some part of his delusions. He
had persuaded himself that he had but to appear
with a pardon in his hand to be welcomed to his
country with acclamation: he had ascertained
that the English people were very indifferent to
the pardon, and that his own past treasons had
created especial objections to himself. Even the
queen herself had grown impatient with him.
He had fretted her with his importunities; his
presence in Flanders had chafed the parliament,
and made her marriage more difficult; while he
was supposed to share with the English nobles
their jealousy of a foreign sovereign. So general
was this last impression about him, that his
nephew, Lord Stafford's son, who was one of the
refugees, went to seek him in the expectation of
countenance and sympathy: and, farther, he had
been in correspondence with Gardiner, and was

Reginald
Pole finds
England
less access-
ible than
he ex-
pected.

CH. 32. believed to be at the bottom of the chancellor's religious indiscretions.* Thus his anxiety to be
 A.D. 1554. in England found nowhere any answering desire; and Renard, who dreaded his want of wisdom, never missed an opportunity of throwing difficulties in the way. In the spring of 1554 Pole had gone to Paris, where, in an atmosphere of so violent opposition to the marriage, he had not thought it necessary to speak in favour of it. The words which Dr. Wotton heard that he had used were reported to the Emperor; and, at last, Renard went so far as to suggest that the scheme of sending him to England had been set on foot at Rome by the French party in the Consistory, with a view of provoking insurrection and thwarting the Imperial policy.†

The Emperor desires the Pope to recall Pole, and appoint another legate.

The Emperor, taught by his old experiences of Pole, acquiesced in the views of his ambassador. If England was to be brought back to its allegiance, the negotiation would require a delicacy of handling for which the present legate was wholly unfit; and Charles wrote at last to the Pope to suggest that the commission should be transferred to a more competent person. Impatient language had been heard of late from the legate's lips, contrasting the vexations of the world with the charms of devotional retirement. To soften the

* RENARD.

† Que pourroit estre l'on auroit mis en avant au consistoire cette commission par affection particulière pour plutot nuire, que servir aux consciences; attendu qu'ilz sont partiaux

pour les princes Chrestiens, et souvent mealent les choses seculieres et prophanes avec les conseils divins et ecclasiastiques.— Renard to Philip: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv.

harshness of the blow, the Emperor said that he CH. 32.
understood Pole was himself weary of his office, A.D. 1554.
and wished to escape into privacy.

The respect of Julius for the legate's understanding was not much larger than the Emperor's; but he would not pronounce the recall without giving him an opportunity of explaining himself. Cardinal Morone wrote to him to inquire whether it was true that he had thought of retirement; he informed him of the Emperor's complaints; and, to place his resignation in the easiest light, (while pointing, perhaps, to the propriety of his offering it,) he hinted at Pole's personal unpopularity, and at the danger to which he would be exposed by going to England.

It is suggested that Pole should resign.

But the legate could not relinquish the passionate desire of his life; while, as to the marriage, he was, after all, unjustly suspected. He requested Morone, in reply, to assure the Pope that, much as he loved retirement, he loved duty more. He appealed to the devotion of his life to the Church as an evidence of his zeal and sincerity; and, although he knew, he said, that God could direct events at his will and dispense with the service of men, yet, so long as he had strength to be of use, he would spend it in his Master's cause. In going to England he was venturing upon a stormy sea; he knew it well;* but, whatever befell him, his life was in God's hands.

May 8.

* He begged Morone not to suppose him ignorant, 'quale sia il mare d'Inghilterra nel quale io ho da navigare et che fortuna et travagli potrei haver a sostinere per condurre la navi in porto.'—Pole to Morone: *Epist. REG. POL. vol. iv.* I have not seen

CH. 32.

A.D. 1554.
May 25.
Pole de-
fends him-
self against
the Empe-
ror's suspi-
cions.

A fortnight after he wrote again, replying more elaborately to the Emperor's charges. It was true, he admitted, that in his letters to the queen he had dwelt more upon her religious duties than upon her marriage: it was true that he had been backward in his demonstrations of pleasure, because he was a person of few words. But, so far from disapproving of that marriage, he looked upon it as the distinct work of God; and when his nephew had come with complaints to him, he had forbidden him his presence. He had spoken of the rule of a stranger in England as likely to be a lesson to the people; but he had meant only that, as their disasters had befallen them through their own king Henry, their deliverance would be wrought for them by one who was not their own. When the late parliament had broken up without consenting to the restoration of union, he had consoled the queen with assuring her that he saw in it the hand of Providence; the breach of a marriage between an English king and a Spanish princess had caused the wound which a renewed marriage of a Spanish king and an English queen was to heal.*

The defence was elaborate, and, on the whole,

Morone's first letter. The contents are to be gathered, however, from Pole's answer, and from a second letter of apology which Morone wrote two months later.

* Scrisse alla Regina non la volendo contristare condolermi di cio, che io interpretava et intendeva che questa tardita non venisse tanto da lei quanto delle Provi-

dentia di Dio, il qual habbia ordinato che si come per discordia matrimoniale d'un Re Inglesi et d'una Regina Hispana fu levata l' obedientia della chiesa de quel Regno cosi dalla concordia matrimoniale d' un Re Hispano et d'una Regina Inglese ella vi dovere ritornare. — Pole to Morone: *Epist. Reg. Pol. vol. iv.*

may have been tolerably true. The Pope would CH. 32.
 not take the trouble to read it, or even to hear it
 read;* but the substance, as related to him by
 Morone, convinced him that the Emperor's accu-
 sations were exaggerated: to recall a legate at
 the instance of a secular sovereign was an unde-
 sirable precedent;† and the commission was allowed
 to stand. Julius wrote to Charles, assuring him
 that he was mistaken in the legate's feelings,
 leaving the Emperor at the same time, however,
 full power to keep him in Flanders or to send
 him to England at his own discretion.

Pole was to continue the instrument of the re-
 conciliation; the conditions under which the re-
 conciliation could take place were less easy to
 settle. The Popes, whose powers are unlimited
 where the exercise of them is convenient for the
 interests of the Holy See, have uniformly fallen
 back upon their inability where they have been
 called on to make sacrifices. The canons of the
 Church forbade, under any pretext, the alienation
 of ecclesiastical property; and until Julius could
 relinquish *ex animo* all intention of disturbing
 the lay holders of the English abbey lands, there
 was not a chance that the question of his su-
 premacy would be so much as entertained by
 either Lords or Commons.

* E benche' S. Sanctita non
 haveva dato causa ne all' Impera-
 tore ne ad altri d'usar con lei
 termini cosi extravaganti.—Mo-
 rone to Pole: BURNET's Collec-
 tanea.
 piu che certa che quella non

haveva dato causa ne all' Impera-
 tore ne ad altri d'usar con lei
 termini cosi extravaganti.—Mo-
 rone to Pole: BURNET's Collec-
 tanea.
 † Ibid.

A.D. 1554.
 May.
 The Pope
 accepts the
 defence,
 and will
 not with-
 draw the
 commis-
 sion.

The Pope
 hesitates
 about the
 Church
 lands.

Cu. 32. The vague powers originally granted to the legate were not satisfactory; and Pole himself, who was too sincere a believer in the Roman doctrines to endure that worldly objections should stand in the way of the salvation of souls, wrote himself to the Holy See, entreating that his commission might be enlarged. The Pope in appearance consented. In a second brief, dated June 28th, he extended the legate's dispensing powers to real property as well as personal, and granted him general permission to determine any unforeseen difficulties which might arise.* Ormaneto, a confidential agent, carried the despatch to Flanders, and on Ormaneto's arrival, the legate, believing that his embarrassments were at last at an end, sent him on to the Bishop of Arras, to entreat that the perishing souls of the English people might now be remembered. The Pope had given way; the queen was happily married, and the reasons for his detention were at an end.†

Both Arras and the Emperor, however, thought more of Philip's security than of perishing souls. Arras, who understood the ways of the Vatican better than the legate, desired that, before any steps were taken, he might be favoured with a copy of these enlarged powers. He wished to know whether the question of the property was fairly relinquished to the secular powers in England, and whether the Church had finally washed its hands of it;‡ at all events, he must

The Bishop
of Arras re-
quests to
see the new
commiss-
sion,

* Powers granted by the Pope to Cardinal Pole: BURNET's *Collectanea.*

† Charles V. to Renard: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv.
‡ Che gran differenza sarebbe

examine the brief. On inspection, the new commission was found to contain an enabling clause indeed, as extensive as words could make it; but the See of Rome reserved to itself the right of sanctioning the settlement after it had been made;* and the reservation had been purposely made, in order to leave the Pope free to act as he might please at a future time. Morone, writing to Pole a fortnight after the date of the brief, told him that his Holiness was still unable to come to a resolution;† while Ormaneto said openly to Arras, that, although the Pope would be as moderate as possible, yet his moderation must not be carried so far as to encourage the rest of Christendom in an evil example. Catholics must not be allowed to believe that they could appropriate Church property without offence, nor must the Holy See appear to be purchasing by concessions the submission of its rebellious subjects.‡

se fosse stata commessa la cosa o
al S. Cardinale, o ali Serenissimi
Principi.—Ormaneto to Priuli,
July 3rd: BURNET's *Collectanea*.

* Salvo tamen in his, in quibus propter rerum magnitudinem et gravitatem hæc sancta sedes merito tibi videretur consulenda, nostro et prefatæ sedis beneplacito et confirmatione.—Powers granted by the Pope to Cardinal Pole: Ibid.

+ Nondimeno non si risolveva in tutto, com'anco non si risolveva nella materia dell'i beni ecclesiastici, sopra la qual sua Sanctita ha parlato molte volte variamente.—Morone to Pole, July 13: Ibid.

CH. 32.

A.D. 1554.

July.

And detects
a weak
point in it,Which had
been pur-
posely left.

‡ Il sçauroit bien user de moderation quant aux biens occupéz; mais que toutesfois il faudroit que ce fust de sorte que la reste de la Chrestienté n'en print malvais exemple; et signamment que aucun Catholiques qui tiennent biens ecclésiastiques soubz leur main ne voulissent pretendre d'eulx approprier avec cest exemple; et que de vouloir laisser les biens à ceulx qui les occupent, il ne conviendroit pour ce qu'il sembleroit que ce seroit racheter, comme a deniers comptans l'autorité du siège apostolique en ce coustel-là. — The Emperor to Renard: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. pp. 282, 283.

CH. 32. This language was not even ambiguous; Pole
 A.D. 1554.
 August 3. was desired to wait till an answer could be re-
 The Emperor ceived from England; and the Emperor wrote to
 therefore, cannot Renard, desiring him to lay the circumstances
 yet permit before the queen and his son. He could believe,
 Pole to go to England, he said, that the legate himself meant well, but
 he had not the same confidence in those who were
 urging him forward, and the Pope had given no
 authority for haste or precipitate movements.*

August 6. The Emperor's letter was laid before a Council
 And a of State at Windsor, on the 6th of August; and
 Council of the council agreed with Charles that the legate's
 State at anxieties could not, for the present, be gratified.
 Windsor He was himself attainted, and parliament had
 agrees in shown no anxiety that the attainder should be
 the same removed. The re-imposition of the Pope's au-
 opinion. thority was a far more ticklish matter than the
 restoration of orthodoxy,† and the temper of
 the people was uncertain. The cardinal had, per-
 haps, intelligence with persons in England of a
 suspicious and dangerous kind, and the execution
 of his commission must depend on the pleasure of
 the next parliament. He was not to suppose
 that he might introduce changes in the constitu-
 tion of the country by the authority of a Papal
 commission, or try experiments which might put
 in peril the sacred person of the prince.‡

* Nous sçavons que le dict Cardinal n'a commission de pres-
 ser si chauldement en cette affaire
 — ains avons heu soubz main
 advertisement du nuncie propre
 de sa Saincteté que la resolution
 de la commission dudit Cardinal
 est que toutes choses se traictent

comm'il nous semblera pour le
 mieulx et qu'il tienne cecy pour
 règle.—*Grano. Papers*, vol. iv.

† Trop plus chastolleux que
 celuy de la vraye religion.—
 Renard to the Emperor: *Ibid.*
 p. 287.

‡ *Ibid.*

Once more the cup of hope was dashed to the ground, and Reginald Pole was sent back to his monastery at Dhilinghen like a child unfit to be trusted with a dangerous plaything. In times of trial his pen was his refuge, and in an appeal to Philip he poured out his characteristic protest.

'For a whole year,' he wrote, 'I have been now knocking at the door of that kingdom, and no person will answer, no person will ask, Who is there? It is one who has endured twenty years of exile that the partner of your throne should not be excluded from her rights, and I come in the name of the vicar of the King of kings, the Shepherd of mankind. Peter knocks at your door; Peter himself. The door is open to all besides. Why is it closed to Peter? Why does not that nation make haste now to do Peter reverence? Why does it leave him escaped from Herod's prison, knocking?' Pole appeals to Philip.

'Strange, too, that this is the house of Mary. Can it be Mary that is so slow to open? True, indeed, it is, that when Mary's damsel heard the voice she opened not the door for joy; she ran and told Mary. But Mary came with those that were with her in the house; and though at first she doubted, yet, when Peter continued knocking, she opened the door; she took him in, she regarded not the danger, although Herod was yet alive, and was king.'

'Is it joy which now withholds Mary, or is it fear? She rejoices, that I know, but she also fears. Yet why should Mary fear now when Herod is dead? The providence of God per-

CH. 32. mitted her to fear for awhile, because God desired that you, sire, who are Peter's beloved child, should share the great work with her. Do you, therefore, teach her now to cast her fears away. It is not I only who stand here—it is not only Peter—Christ is here—Christ waits with me till you will open and take him in. You who are King of England, are defender of Christ's faith; yet, while you have the ambassadors of all other princes at your court, you will not have Christ's ambassador; you have rejected your Christ.

A.D. 1554.
August.

'Go on upon your way. Build on the foundation of worldly policy, and I tell you, in Christ's words, that the rain will fall, the floods will rise, the winds will blow, and beat upon that house, and it will fall, and great will be the fall thereof.'

The pleading was powerful, yet it could bear no fruits—the door could not open till the Pope pronounced the magic words which held it closed. Neither Philip nor Mary was in a position to use violence or force the bars.

After the ceremony at Winchester, the king and queen had gone first to Windsor, and thence the second week in August they went to Richmond. The entry into London was fixed for the 18th; after which, should it pass off without disturbance, the Spanish fleet might sail from Southampton Water. The prince himself had as yet met with no courtesy; but disputes had broken out early between the English and

Ill blood
begins be-
tween
the Spa-
niards and
the En-
glish.

* Pole to Philip: *Epist. Reg. Pol.* vol. iv.

Spanish retinues, and petty taunts and insolences had passed among them.* The prince's luggage was plundered, and the property stolen could not be recovered nor the thieves detected. The servants of Alva and the other lords, who preceded their masters to London, were insulted in the streets, and women and children called after them that they need not have brought so many things, they would be soon gone again. The citizens refused to give them lodgings in their houses, and the friars who had accompanied Philip were advised to disguise themselves, so intense was the hatred against the religious orders.† The council soon provided for their ordinary comforts, but increase of acquaintance produced no improvement of feeling.

CH. 32.
A.D. 1554.
August.

The entry passed off tolerably. Gog and Magog stood as wardens on London Bridge, and there were the usual pageants in the city. Renard conceived that the impression produced by Philip had been rather favourable than otherwise; for the people had been taught to expect some monster but partially human, and they saw instead a well-dressed cavalier, who had learnt by this time to carry his hand to his bonnet. Yet, although there were no open signs of ill-feeling, the day did not end without a disagreeable incident. The conduit in Gracechurch-street

* Avecques d'autres petits déportements de mocquerie qui croissent tons les jours d'ung cousté et d'autre.—Noailles to the King of France, August 1.

† NOAILLES; and compare Pole to Miranda, Oct. 6: *Epist. Reg. Pol. vol. v.*

CH. 32. had been newly decorated: 'the nine Worthies' had been painted round the winding turret, and among them were Henry VIII. and Edward. The first seven carried maces, swords, or poleaxes. Henry held in one hand a sceptre, in the other he was presenting a book to his son, on which was written *Verbum Dei*. As the train went by, the unwelcome figure caught the eye of Gardiner. The painter was summoned, called 'knave, traitor, heretic,' an enemy to the queen's Catholic proceedings. The offensive Bible was washed out, and a pair of gloves inserted in its place.*

Nor did the irritation of the people abate. The Spaniards, being without special occupation, were seen much in the streets; and a vague fear so magnified their numbers that four of them, it was thought, were to meet in London for one Englishman.† The halls of the city companies were given up for their use; a fresh provocation to people who desired to be provoked. A Spanish friar was lodged at Lambeth, and it was said at once he was to be September. Archbishop of Canterbury; at the beginning of September twelve thousand Spanish troops were reported to be coming to 'fetch the crown.' Rumour and reality inflated each other. The peers, who had collected for the marriage, dispersed to their counties; and on the 10th of September, Pembroke, Shrewsbury, and Westmoreland were believed to have raised a standard of

The ill-feel.
ing in-
creases be-
tween the
English
and the
Spaniards.

* *Chronicle of Queen Mary.* Contemporary Narrative: MS. Harleian, 419.

† *Chronicle of Queen Mary.*

revolt at York. Frays were continually breaking out in the streets, and there was a scandalous brawl in the cloisters at Westminster. Brief entries in diaries and council books tell continually of Englishmen killed, and Spaniards hanged, hanged at Tyburn, or hanged more conspicuously at Charing Cross; and on the 12th, Noailles reported that the feeling in all classes, high and low, was as bad as possible.

CH. 32.
A.D. 1554.
September.

There was dread, too, that Philip was bent on drawing England into the war. The French ambassador had been invited to be present at the entry into London; but the invitation had been sent informally by a common messenger not more than half an hour before the royal party were to appear. The brief notice was intended as an affront, and only after some days Noailles appeared at court to offer his congratulations. When he came at last, he expressed his master's hope to Philip that the neutrality of England would continue to be observed. Philip answered with cold significance, that he would keep his promise and maintain the treaties, as long as by doing so he should consult the interests of the realm.*

Philip uses
dangerous
words to
Noailles.

Other menacing symptoms were also showing themselves: the claim for the pensions was spoken of as likely to be revived; the English ships in the Channel were making the neutrality one-sided, and protecting the Spanish and

* Tant et si longuement que ce seroit, l'utilité et commodité de cedict Royaulme d'Angleterre.—Noailles to the King of France.

CH. 32. Flemish traders; and Philip, already weary of his bride, was urging on Renard the propriety of his hastening, like an obedient son, to the assistance of his father. Under pretence of escort, he could take with him a few thousand English cavalry and men-at-arms, who could be used as a menace to France, and whose presence would show the attitude which England was about to assume. Sick, in these brief weeks, of maintaining the show of an affection which he did not feel, and sick of a country where his friends were insulted if he was treated respectfully himself, he was already panting for freedom, and eager to utilize the instruments which he had bought so dearly.*

A.D. 1554.
September.
He pro-
poses to
leave En-
gland with
an English
escort, and
involve
them in
the war.

Happily for the queen's peace of mind, Renard was not a man to encourage impatience. The factions in the council were again showing themselves; Elizabeth lay undisposed of at Woodstock; Pomfret, Belgium, even Hungary had been thought of as a destination for her, and had been laid aside one after the other, in dread of the people. If she was released, she would again be dangerous, and it was uncertain how long Lord Howard would endure her detention. A plan suggested by Lord Paget seemed, after all, to promise the best—to marry her to Philibert of Savoy, and thus make use of her as a second link to connect England with the House of Austria. But here the difficulty would be with the queen, who in that case would have to recognise her sister's rank and expectations.

* Renard to Charles V.: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. p. 294.

The question should be settled before Philip CH. 32.
left England, and he must have faced parliament
too, and, if possible, have been crowned. If he A.D. 1554.
went now, he would never come back; let him September.
court the people, advised the keen Renard; let Renard
him play off the people against the Lords; there thinks that,
was ill blood between the rich and poor, let him if Philip
use the opportunity. goes, he will never re-
turn.

The state of public feeling did not improve Bonner
when, at the end of September, Bonner com- sends out
menced an inquisition into the conduct and articles of
opinions of the clergy of his diocese. In every inquiry
parish he appointed a person or persons to ex- into the
amine whether the minister was or ever had been conduct of
married; whether, if married and separated from the London
his wife, he continued in secret to visit her; clergy.
whether his sermons were orthodox; whether he
was a 'brawler, scolder, hawker, hunter, fornica-
tor, adulterer, drunkard, or blasphemer;' whether
he duly exhorted his parishioners to come to mass
and confession; whether he associated with here-
tics, or had been suspected of associating with
them; his mind, his habits, his society, even
the dress that he wore, were to be made matter
of close scrutiny.

The points of inquiry were published in a series of articles which created an instantaneous ferment. Among the merchants they were attributed to the king, queen, and Gardiner, and were held to be the first step of a conspiracy against their liberties. A report was spread at the same time that the king meditated a seizure of the Tower; barriers were forthwith erected in

CH. 32. the great thoroughfares leading into the city, and no one was allowed to pass unchallenged.*

A.D. 1554.

September.

An agita-

tion com-

mences,

and Bonner

is obliged

to suspend

his order:

The Bishop of London was called to account for having ventured so rash a step without permission of crown or council. He replied that he was but doing his duty; the council, had he communicated with them, would have interfered with him, and in the execution of his office he must be governed by his own conscience.† But the attitude of the city was too decided even for the stubborn Bonner, he gave way sullenly, and suspended the execution of his order.

But the op-
position
can do
nothing.

Worse clouds than these nevertheless had many times gathered over the court and dispersed again. It was easy to be discontented; but when the discontent would pass into action, there was nothing definite to be done; and between the leading statesmen there were such large differences of opinion, that they could not co-operate.‡ The court, as Renard saw, could accomplish everything which they desired with caution and prudence. The humours of the people might flame out on a sudden if too hastily irritated, but the opposite tendencies of parties effectually balanced each other; and even the Papal difficulty might be managed, and Pole might in time be brought over, if only there was no precipitation, and the Pope was compelled to be reasonable.

* Renard to the Bishop of Arras: *Granvelle Papers*, p. 330.

† Same to the Emperor: *Ibid.* p. 321.

‡ Entre les seigneurs et gens de la noblesse et de credit et administration, il y a telle partialité que l'un ne se fie de l'autre.—*Ibid.*

But prudence was the first and last essential; CH. 32.
 the legate must be content to wait, and also A.D. 1554.
October.
 Philip must wait. The winter was coming on, The court
gives balls,
and the
bad feeling
is supposed
to abate.
 and the court, Renard said, was giving balls; the English and Spanish noblemen were learning to talk with one another, and were beginning to dance with each other's wives and daughters. The ill-feeling was gradually abating; and, in fact, it was not to be believed that God Almighty would have brought about so considerable a marriage without intending that good should come of it.* The queen believed herself *enceinte*, and if her hopes were well founded, a thousand causes of restlessness would be disposed of; but Philip must not be permitted to harass her with his impatience to begone. She had gathered something of his intentions, and was already pretending more uncertainty than in her heart she felt, lest he should make the assurance of her prospects an excuse for leaving her. In a remarkable passage, Renard urged the Emperor on no account to encourage him in a step so eminently injudicious, from a problematic hope of embroiling England and France. 'Let parliament meet,' he said, 'and pass off quietly, and in February his Highness may safely go. Irreparable injury may and will

Renard,
however,
insists on
caution and
prudence.

* Les choses se vont accom-
moder à quoy sert la saison de
l'hiver et ce que en la court l'on
y danse souvent; que les Espai-
gnolz et Angloys commencent à
converser les uns avec les autres
. . . . et n'y a personne
qui puisse imaginer que Dieu ait
voulu ung si grand mariage et

de telz princes, pour en esperer
sinon ung grand bien publique
pour la Chrestienté, et pour res-
tablier et assurer les estatz de
vostre majesté troublez par ses
ennemis.—Renard to the Em-
peror : *Granvelle Papers*, vol.
iv. p. 319.

CH. 32. follow, however, should he leave England before.
 A.D. 1554. Religion will be overthrown, the queen's person
 October. will be in danger, and parliament will not meet.
 Philip must stay for the present with the queen. If he leaves her now, there will be a revolution.
 Rash advisers must be kept at a distance.

A door will be opened for the practices of France; the country may throw itself in self-protection on the French alliance, and an undying hatred will be engendered between England and Spain. As things now are, prudence and moderation are more than ever necessary; and we must allow neither the king nor the queen to be led astray by unwise impatient advisers, who, for the advancement of their private opinions, or because they cannot have all the liberty which they desire, are ready to compromise the commonwealth.*

Writs are issued for a parliament, with admonition to the electors.

So matters stood at the beginning of October, when parliament was about to be summoned, and the great experiment to be tried whether England would consent to be re-united to Catholic Christendom. The writs went out on the 6th, and circulars accompanied them, addressed to those who would have the conduct of the elections, stating that, whatever false reports might have been spread, no 'alteration was intended of any man's possessions.' At the same time the queen required the mayors of towns, the sheriffs, and other influential persons to admonish the voters to choose from among themselves 'such as, being eligible by order of the laws, were of a wise, grave, and Catholic sort; such as indeed meant the true honour of God and the prosperity of the commonwealth.'† These general directions were

* *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. p. 320.

† Royal Circular; printed in BURNET's *Collectanea*.

copied from a form which had been in use under CH. 32.
 Henry VII., and the citizens set the example of
 obedience in electing four members who were in
 every way satisfactory to the court.* In the coun-
 try the decisive failure of Carew, Suffolk, and
 Crofts showed that the weight of public feeling
 was still in favour of the queen notwithstanding
 the Spanish marriage; and the re-action against
 the excesses of the Reformation had not yet
 reached its limits. On the accession of Mary,
 the restoration of the mass had appeared impos-
 sible, but it had been effected safely and com-
 pletely almost by the spontaneous will of the
 people. In the spring the Pope's name could not
 be mentioned in Parliament; now, since the
 queen was bent upon it, and as she gave her word
 that property was not to be meddled with, even
 the Pope seemed no longer absolutely intolerable.

The reports of the elections were everywhere The elec-
 favourable. In the Upper House, except on very tions are fa-
 critical points, which would unite the small body vourable to
 of the lay peers, the court was certain of a majority,
 being supported of course by the bishops—and
 the question of Pole's coming over, therefore,
 was once more seriously considered. The Pope
 had been given to understand that, however in-
 consistent with his dignity he might consider it

A.D. 1554.
October.

The coun-
 try is con-
 servative,
 and the re-
 action has
 not reached
 its limits.

* Les lettres de la convoca-
 tion du parlement sont esté pour-
 jectées sur la vieille forme dont
 l'on usoit au temps du Roy
 Henry septième pour avoir en
 icelluy gens de bien Catholiques :
 et à propos et selon ce ceux de

Londre en publique assemblée
 ont choisiz quatre personnaiges
 que l'on tient estre fort saiges et
 modestes.—Renard to the Em-
 peror: *Granvelle Papers*, vol.
 iv. p. 324.

CH. 32.

A.D. 1554.
October.
And the
conserva-
tive party
in the coun-
try will en-
dure a re-
conciliation
with Rome.

to appear to purchase English submission by setting aside the canons of the Church, he must consent to the English terms, or there was no hope whatever that his supremacy would be recognised. If in accepting these terms he would agree to a humiliating reconciliation, only those who objected on doctrinal grounds to the Papal religion were inclined to persist in refusing a return of his friendship. The dream of an independent orthodox Anglicanism which had once found favour with Gardiner was fading away. The indifferent and the orthodox alike desired to put an end to spiritual anarchy; and the excommunication, though lying lightly on the people, and despised even by the Catholic powers, had furnished, and might furnish, a pretext for inconvenient combinations. Singularity of position, where there was no especial cause for it, was always to be avoided.

These influences would have been insufficient to have brought the English of themselves to seek for a reunion. They were enough to induce them to accept it with indifference when offered them on their own conditions, or to affect for a time an outward appearance of acquiescence.

Renard
considers
that it had
better not
be at-
tempted.

Philip, therefore, consulted Renard, and Charles invited Pole to Brussels. Renard, to whom politics were all-important, and religion useful in its place, but inconvenient when pushed into prominence, adhered to his old opinion. He advised the 'king to write privately to the Pope, telling him that he had already so many embarrassments on his hands that he could not afford

to increase them; 'the changes already made CH. 32.
were insincere, and the legatine authority was
odious, not only in England, but throughout A.D. 1554.
Europe;' 'the queen, on her accession, had pro- Oct. 15.
mised a general toleration,* and it was useless to
provoke irritation when not absolutely necessary.'
Yet even Renard spoke less positively than before.

'If the Pope would make no more reservations on If the Pope
the land question—if he would volunteer a gene- will be very
ral absolution, and submit to conditions, while he submissive,
exacted none—if he would sanction every eccle- he thinks it
siastical act which had been done during the may, per-
schism, the marriages and baptisms, the ordina- haps, be
tions of the clergy, and the new creations of managed ;
episcopal sees—above all, if he would make no demand for money under any pretence, the ven-
ture might, perhaps, be made.' But, continued Renard, his 'Holiness, even then, must be cautious in his words; he must dwell as lightly as possi-
ble on his authority, as lightly as possible on his claims to be obeyed: in offering absolution, he must talk merely of piety and love, of the open arms of the Church, of the example of the Saviour, and such other generalities.'† Finally, Renard still thought the legate had better remain But Pole
abroad. The reconciliation, if it could be effected had better
stay abroad.

* Le mandement et declara-
tion que vostre Majesté a fait
publier sur le point de la reli-
gion, laissant la liberté à ung
chacun pour tenir quelle religion
l'on vouldra.—Renard to Philip
and Mary: *Granvelle Papers*,
vol. iv. p. 327.

† Et que sa Saincteté le fonde
in pietate Christianæ et ecclesias-
ticæ quia nunquam Ecclesia claudit
gremium, semper indulget ex-
emplo Salvatoris, et Evangelium
semper consolatur, semper re-
mittit, et sur plusieurs aultres
fondemens generaullx.—Ibid. p.
326.

CH. 32. at all, could be managed better without his irritating presence.

A.D. 1554.

Oct. 15.
Pole has an interview with the Emperor.

Pole himself had found the Emperor more gracious. Charles professed the greatest anxiety that the Papal authority should be restored. He doubted only if the difficulties could be surmounted. Pole replied that the obstacles were chiefly two—one respecting doctrine, on which no concession could be made at all; the other respecting the lands, on which his Holiness would make every concession. He would ask for nothing, he would exact nothing; he would abandon every shadow of a claim.

The Emperor's opinion of the English.

If this was the case, the Emperor said, all would go well. Nevertheless, there was the reservation in the brief, and the Pope, however generous he might wish to be, was uncertain of his power. The doctrine was of no consequence. People in England believed one doctrine as little as another;* but they hated Rome, they hated the religious orders, they hated cardinals; and, as to the lands, could the Church relinquish them?† Pole might believe that she could; but the world would be more suspicious, or less easy to convince. At all events, the dispensing powers must be clogged with no reservations; nor could he come to any decision till he heard again from England.

The legate was almost hopeless; yet his time

* Percioche quanto alla Dottrina disse che poco se ne curavano questo tali non credendo ne all' una ne all' altra via.—Pole to the Pope, October 13: BURNET'S *Collectanea*.

† Disse anche che essendo stati questi beni dedicati a Dio non era da concedere cosi ognà cosa a quelli che le tenevano.—Ibid.

of triumph—such triumph as it was—had nearly CH. 32.
arrived. The queen's supposed pregnancy had —————
increased her influence; and, constant herself in A.D. 1554.
the midst of general indecision, she was able to October.
carry her point. She would not mortify the
legate, who had suffered for his constancy to the
cause of her mother, with listening to Renard's
personal objections; and when the character of
the approaching House of Commons had been
ascertained, she gained the consent of the
council, a week before the beginning of the ses- November.
sion, to send commissioners to Brussels to see An em-
Pole and inspect his faculties. With a conclu- bassy goes
sive understanding on the central question, they from Eng-
might tell him that the hope of his life might land to
be realized, and that he might return to his Pole to tell
country. But the conditions were explicit. He him that
must bring adequate powers with him, or his he may re-
coming would be worse than fruitless. If those turn.
which he already possessed were insufficient, he
must send them to Rome to be enlarged;* and

* The greatest and only means to procure the agreement of the noblemen and others of our council was our promise that the Pope's Holiness would, at our suit, dispense with all possessors of any lands or goods of monasteries, colleges, or other ecclesiastical houses, to hold and enjoy their said lands and goods without any trouble or scruple; without which promise it had been impossible to have had their consent, and shall be utterly impossible to have any fruit and good concord ensue. For which pur-

pose you shall earnestly pray our said cousin to use all possible diligence, and say that if he have not already, he may so receive authority from the See Apostolic to dispense in this matter as the same, being now in good towardness, may so in this parliament take the desired effect; whereof we see no likelihood except it may be therewithal provided for this matter of the lands and goods of the Church.—Instructions to Paget and Hastings, November 5: TYTLER, vol. ii. p. 446.

CH. 32. although the court would receive him as legate
 A.D. 1554.
 November. *de latere*, he had better enter the country only as a cardinal and ambassador, till he could judge of the state of things for himself.* On these terms the commissioners might conduct him to the queen's presence.

The bearers of this communication were Lord Paget and Sir Edward Hastings, accompanied, it is curious to observe, by Sir William Cecil.†

* *TRYTLER*, vol. ii. p. 446.

† Cecil had taken no formal part in Mary's government, but his handwriting can be traced in many papers of state, and in the Irish department he seems to have given his assistance throughout the reign. In religion Cecil, like Paget, was a latitudinarian. His conformity under Mary has been commented upon bitterly; but there is no occasion to be surprised at his conduct — no occasion, when one thinks seriously of his position, to blame his conduct. There were many things in the Catholic creed of which Cecil disapproved; and when his opportunity came, he gave his effectual assistance for the abolition of them; but as long as that creed was the law of the land, as a citizen he paid the law the respect of external obedience.

At present religion is no longer under the control of law, and is left to the conscience. To profess openly, therefore, a faith which we do not believe is justly condemned as hypocrisy. But wherever public law extends, personal responsibility is limited. A minority is not permitted to resist the decisions of the legisla-

ture on subjects in which the legislature is entitled to interfere; and in the sixteenth century opinion was as entirely under rule and prescription as actions or things. Men may do their best to improve the laws which they consider unjust. They are not, under ordinary circumstances, to disobey them so long as they exist. However wide the basis of a government, questions, nevertheless, will ever rise between the individual and the state—questions, for instance, of peace or war, in which the conscience has as much a voice as any other subject; where, nevertheless, individuals, if they are in the minority, must sacrifice their own opinions; they must contribute their war taxes without resistance; if they are soldiers, they must take part as combatants for a cause of which they are convinced of the injustice. That is to say, they must do things which it would be impious and wicked in them to do, were they as free in their obligations as citizens as they are now free in the religion which they will profess.

This was the view in which

'They presented themselves to the Emperor, CH. 32.
who, after the report which they brought with A.D. 1554.
them, made no more difficulty. The enlarged November.
powers had been sent for three weeks before;
but there was no occasion to wait for their
arrival. They might be expected in ten days
or a fortnight, and could follow the legate
to England.*

The effect on Pole of the commissioners' Nov. 11.
arrival 'there needed not,' as they said them-
selves, 'many words to declare.'† His eager
temperament, for ever excited either with wild
hopes or equally wild despondency, was now

the mass was regarded by states-
men like Cecil, and generally
by many men of plain straight-
forward understanding, who be-
lieved transubstantiation as
little as he. In Protestantism,
as a constructive theology, they
had as little interest as in Popery ;
when the alternative lay between
the two, they saw no reason to
sacrifice themselves for either.

It was the view of common
sense. It was not the view of a
saint. To Latimer, also, tech-
nical theology was indifferent—
indifferent in proportion to his
piety. But he hated lies—
legalized or unlegalized — he
could not tolerate them, and he
died sooner than seem to tolerate
them. The counsels of perfection,
however, lead to conduct neither
possible, nor, perhaps, desirable
for ordinary men.

* Charles was particular in
his inquiries of Mary's prospect
of a family. He spoke to Sir
John Mason about it, who was

then the resident ambassa-
dor :—

'Sir, quoth I,' so Mason re-
ported the conversation, 'I have
from herself nothing to say, for
she will not confess the matter
till it be proved to her face; but
by others I understand, to my
great joy, that her garments wax
very strait. I never doubted,
quoth he, of the matter, but that
God, that for her had wrought so
many miracles, would make the
same perfect to the assisting of
nature to his good and most
desired work: and I warrant it
shall be, quoth he, a man-child.
Be it man, quoth I, or be it
woman, welcome it shall be; for
by that we shall be at the least
come to some certainty to whom
God shall appoint by succession
the government of our estates.'—
Mason to the King and Queen,
November 9: TYTLEE, vol. ii.
P. 455.

† Paget and Hastings to the
Queen: Ibid. p. 459.

CH. 32. about to be fooled to the top of its bent. On
 A.D. 1554.
 November. the Pope's behalf, he promised everything; for himself, he would come as ambassador, he would come as a private person, come in any fashion that might do good, so only that he might come.

Parliament
meets, and
repeals
Pole's at-
tainer.

Little time was lost in preparation. Parliament met on the 12th of November. The opening speech was read, as usual, by Gardiner, and was well received, although it announced that further measures would be taken for the establishment of religion, and the meaning of these words was known to every one. The first measure brought forward was the repeal of Pole's attainder. It passed easily without a dissentient voice, and no obstacle of any kind remained to delay his appearance. Only the cautious Renard

Courtenay
is to be sent
away, and
Elizabeth,
if possible,
to be mar-
ried and
got rid of.

suggested that Courtenay should be sent out of the country as soon as possible, for fear the legate should take a fancy to him; and the Prince of Savoy had been invited over to see whether anything could be done towards arranging the marriage with Elizabeth. Elizabeth, indeed, had protested that she had no intention of marrying; nevertheless, Renard said, she would be disposed of, as the Emperor had advised,* could the queen be induced to consent.

Nov. 13.
The legate
sets out for
England.

England was ready therefore, and the happy legate set out from Brussels like a lover flying to his mistress. His emotions are reflected in

* Neantmoins il sera nécessaire achever avec elle selon l'avis de vostre Majesté.—Renard to the Emperor: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv.

the journal of an Italian friend who attended him. The journey commenced on Tuesday, the 13th; the retinues of Paget and Hastings, with the cardinal's household, making in all a hundred and twenty horse. The route was by Ghent, Bruges, and Dunkirk. On the 19th the party reached Gravelines, where, on the stream which formed the boundary of the Pale, they were received in state by Lord Wentworth, the Governor of Calais. In the eyes of his enthusiastic admirers the apostle of the Church moved in an atmosphere of marvel. The Calais bells, which rang as they entered the town, were of preternatural sweetness. The salutes fired by the ships in the harbour were 'wonderful.' The cardinal's lodging was a palace, and, as an august omen, the watchword of the garrison for the night was 'God long lost is found.'* The morning brought a miracle. A westerly gale had blown for many days. All night long it had howled through the narrow streets; the waves had lashed against the piers, and the fishermen foretold a week of storms. At day-break the wind went down, the clouds broke, a light air from the eastward levelled the sea, and filled the sails of the vessel which was to bear them to England. At noon the party went on board, and their passage was a fresh surprise. They crossed in three hours and a half, and the distance, as it pictured itself to imagination,

A.D. 1554.
November.

He arrives
at Calais.

Tuesday,
Nov. 20.
A favour-
able change
of wind
carries him
rapidly
across the
Channel.

* Dio gran tempo perduto e hora ritrovato.—*Descriptio Reductionis Anglie: Epist. Reg. Pol. vol. v.*

CH. 32. tion, was forty miles.* At Dover the legate slept. The next day Lord Montague came with the Bishop of Ely, bringing letters of congratulation from the queen and Philip, and an intimation that he was anxiously looked for. He was again on horseback after breakfast; and as the news of his arrival spread, respect or curiosity rapidly swelled his train. The Earl of Huntingdon, who had married his sister, sent his son Lord Hastings, with his tenants and servants, as an escort. But there was no danger. Whatever might be the feelings of the people towards the papal legate, they gave to Reginald Pole the welcome due to an English nobleman.

A.D. 1554.
Nov. 20.
He sleeps
at Dover,
and com-
mences his
Progress
towards
London.

The legate
at Canter-
bury.

The November evening had closed in when the cavalcade entered Canterbury. The streets were thronged, and the legate made his way through the crowd, amidst cries of 'God save your Grace.' At the door of the house—probably the archbishop's palace—where he was to pass the night, Harpsfeld, the archdeacon, was standing to receive him, with a number of the clergy; and with the glare of torches lighting up the scene, Harpsfeld commenced an oration as the legate alighted, so beautiful, so affecting, says Pole's Italian friend, that all the hearers were moved to tears. The archdeacon spoke of the mercies of God, and the marvellous workings of his providence. He dwelt upon the history of the

* Imbarcatosi adunque sua miglia fatto con extraordinaria S. R. ad un hora di giorno, passo prestezza.—*Epist. REG. POL.*
a Doure nell' Isola in tre hore et vol. v.
mezza che fu camino di quaranta

cardinal, whom God had preserved through a thousand dangers for the salvation of his country; and, firing up at last in a blaze of enthusiasm, he exclaimed, ‘Thou art Pole, and thou art our Polar star, to light us to the kingdom of the heavens. Sky, rivers, earth, these disfigured walls—all things—long for thee. While thou wert absent from us all things were sad, all things were in the power of the adversary. At thy coming all things are smiling, all glad, all tranquil.’* The legate listened so far, and then checked the flood of the adoring eloquence. ‘I heard you with pleasure,’ he said, ‘while you were praising God. My own praises I do not desire to hear. Give the glory to Him.’

From Canterbury, Richard Pate, who, as titular Bishop of Worcester, had sate at the Council of Trent, was sent forward to the queen with an answer to her letter, and a request for further directions. The legate himself went on leisurely to Rochester, where he was entertained by Lord Cobham, at Cowling Castle. So far he had observed the instructions brought to him by Paget, and had travelled as an ordinary ecclesiastic, without distinctive splendour. On the night of the 23rd, however, Pate returned from

A.D. 1554.
Nov. 21.

* ‘Tu es Polus, qui aperis nobis Polum regni cælorum. Aer, flumina, terra, parietes ipse, omnia denique te desiderant. Quamdiu absuisti omnia fuerunt tristia et adversa. In adventu tuo, omnia rident, omnia leta, omnia tranquilla.’ I have endeavoured

to preserve the play on the word *Polus*, altering the meaning as little as the necessities of translation would allow. It has been suggested to me that the word ‘parietes’ implies properly *internal* walls, and the allusion was to the defacement of the cathedral.

CH. 32. the court with a message that the legatine insignia might be displayed. A fleet of barges was in waiting at Gravesend, where Pole appeared early on the 24th; and, as a further augury of good fortune, he found there Lord Shrewsbury, with his early friend the Bishop of Durham, who had come to meet him with the repeal of his attainder, to which the queen had given her assent in parliament the day before.

A.D. 1554.
Saturday,
Nov. 24.
The royal
barges are
in waiting
at Graves-
end.

The Ita-
lians find a
miracle in
the tides
of the
Thames.

The legate
arrives at
Whitehall,

Where he is
received by
Philip and
the queen.

To the fluttered hearts of the priestly company the coincidence of the repeal, the informality of an act of parliament receiving the royal assent before the close of a session, were further causes of admiration. They embarked; and the Italians, who had never seen a tidal river, discovered, miracle of miracles, that they were ascending from the sea, and yet the stream was with them. The distance to London was soon accomplished. They passed under the Bridge at one o'clock on the top of the tide, the legate's barge distinguished splendidly by the silver cross upon the bow. In a few minutes more they were at the palace-stairs at Whitehall; where a pier was built on arches out into the river, and on the pier stood the Bishop of Winchester, with the Lords of the Council.

The king and queen were at dinner, the arrival not being expected till the afternoon. Philip rose instantly from the table, hurried out, and caught the legate in his arms. The queen followed to the head of the grand staircase; and when Pole reached her, she threw herself on his breast, and kissed him, crying that his coming gave her as

much joy as the possession of her kingdom. The CH. 32.
 cardinal, in corresponding ecstasy, exclaimed, in
 the words of the angel to the Virgin, ‘Ave
 Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu
 in mulieribus.’* The first rapturous moments
 over, the king, queen, and legate proceeded along
 the gallery, Philip and Pole supporting Mary
 on either side, and the legate expatiating on the
 mysteries of Providence.

‘High thanks, indeed,’ he exclaimed, ‘your The favour
 Majesty owes to the favour of the Almighty, seeing of Heaven
 that, while he permits you to bring your godly to the
 desires to perfection, he has united at this moment
 in your favour the two mightiest powers upon
 earth—the Majesty of the Emperor represented in
 the king your husband, and the Pope’s Holiness
 represented in myself.’ The queen, as she
 walked, replied ‘in words of sweet humility,’
 pouring out gentle excuses for past delays. The
 legate, still speaking with ecstatic metaphor,
 answered that it was the will of God; God
 waited till the time was mature, till he could
 say to her Highness, ‘Blessed be the fruit of thy
 womb.’†

In the saloon they remained standing together

* ‘Cardinalis cum reginam |
 salutaret, nec ulla humana verba |
 occurserent tali muliere digna, |
 Sanctis Scripturarum verbis abuti |
 non verebatur, sed in primo con- |
 gressu iisdem quibus matrem Dei |
 salutavit Angelus Reginam Polus |
 alloquitur, Ave Maria.’ &c.— |
 Salkyns to Bullinger: *Epistole* |
 TIGUBINÆ, p. 169.

| † ‘Il Signor Legato rispose
 che Dio haves voluto, che fusse
 tardato a tempo piu maturo,
 perche egli havesse potuto dire
 a sua Altezza come diceva Bene-
 dictus fructus ventris tui.’—De-
 scriptio Reductionis Anglie.

CH. 32. for another quarter of an hour. When the cardinal took his leave for the day, the king, in spite of remonstrance, re-attended him to the gate. Alva and the Bishop of Winchester were in waiting to conduct him to Lambeth Palace, which had been assigned him for a residence. The see of Canterbury was to follow as soon as Cranmer could be despatched.

A.D. 1554.
Nov. 24.
The legate
is con-
ducted to
Lambeth
by Alva
and Gar-
diner.

The queen
declares
herself
with child.
Te Deums
in the
London
churches.

Arrived at Lambeth, he was left to repose after his fatigues and excitements. He had scarcely retired to his apartments when he was disturbed again by a message from the queen. Lord Montague had hurried over with the news that the angelic salutation had been already answered. ‘The babe had leapt in her womb.’* Not a moment was lost in communicating the miracle to the world. Letters of council were drawn out for *Te Deums* to be sung in every church in London. The next day being Sunday, every pulpit was made to ring with the testimony of Heaven to the truth.

The last
complete
dispensing
powers
arrive from
Rome.

On Monday the 26th the cardinal went to the palace for an audience, and again there was more matter for congratulation. As he was approaching the king’s cabinet, Philip met him with a packet of despatches. The last courier sent to Rome had returned with unheard-of expedition, and the briefs and commissions in which the Pope relinquished formally his last reservations, had arrived. Never, exclaimed the Catholic enthusiast, in a fervour of devout astonishment—never since

* *Descriptio Reductionis Angliae.*

the days of the apostles had so many tokens CH. 32.
of divine approbation been showered upon a —————
human enterprise. The moment of its consum- A.D. 1554.
mation had arrived.* Since the thing was to be, Nov. 24.
no one wished for delay. Three days sufficed
for the few necessary preparations, and the two The Lords
Houses of Parliament were invited to be present and Com-
unofficially at Whitehall on the afternoon mons as-
Wednesday the 28th. In the morning there was semble at
a procession in the city and a *Te Deum* at St. Whitehall.
Paul's. After dinner, the Great Chamber was
thrown open, and the Lords and Commons
crowded in as they could find room. Philip and
Mary entered, and took their seats under the
cloth of state; while Pole had a chair assigned
him on their right hand, beyond the edge of the
canopy. The queen was splendidly dressed, and
it was observed that she threw out her person, to
make her supposed condition as conspicuous as
possible.† When all were in their places, the
Chancellor rose.

‘ My Lords of the Upper House,’ he said, ‘ and The legate
you my masters of the Nether House, here is pre- is intro-
sent the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord duced by
Cardinal Pole, come from the Apostolic See of Rome Gardiner.
as ambassador to the King’s and Queen’s Majesties,
upon one of the weightiest causes that ever hap-

* The queen’s assurances respecting her child were so emphatic, that even Noailles believed her. Profane persons were still incredulous. On Sunday the 25th, the day after the *Te Deums*, Noailles says, ‘ S'est trouvé ung placard attaché à la

porte de son palais y estant ces mots en substance : ‘ serons nous si bestes oh nobles Angloys, que croyre notre reyne estre enceinte si non d'un marmot ou d'un dogue.’’

† Contemporary Diary: *MS. Harleian*, iv. 19.

CH. 32. pened in this realm, and which pertaineth to the
 glory of God and your universal benefit; the which
 A.D. 1554.
 Nov. 28. embassy it is their Majesties' pleasure that it be
 signified unto you all by his own mouth, trusting
 that you will accept it in as benevolent and thank-
 ful wise as their Highnesses have done, and that
 you will give an attent and inclinable ear to him.'

The legate
rises, and
speaks.

The legate then left his chair and came forward. He was now fifty-four years old, and he had passed but little of his life in England; yet his features had not wholly lost their English character. He had the arched eyebrow, and the delicately-cut cheek, and prominent eye of the beautiful Plantagenet face; a long, brown, curling beard flowed down upon his chest, which it almost covered; the mouth was weak and slightly open, the lips were full and pouting, the expression difficult to read. In a low voice, audible only to those who were near him, he spoke as follows:—
 ‘ My Lords all, and you that are the Commons of this present parliament assembled, as the cause of my repair hither hath been wisely and gravely declared by my Lord Chancellor, so, before I enter into the particulars of my commission, I have to say somewhat touching myself, and to give most humble and hearty thanks to the King’s and Queen’s Majesties, and after them to you all—which of a man exiled and banished from this commonwealth, have restored me to be a member of the same, and of a man having no place either here or elsewhere within this realm, have admitted me to a place where to speak and where to be heard. This I protest unto you all, that though I was

He has
been ever
well in-
clined to
England,
although
unjustly
exiled.

exiled my native country, without just cause, as CH. 32.
God knoweth, yet the ingratitude could not pull A.D. 1554.
from me the affection and desire that I had to Nov. 28.
your profit and to do you good.

'But, leaving the rehearsal hereof, and coming more near to the matter of my commission, I signify unto you all, that my principal travail is for the restitution of this noble realm to the antient nobility, and to declare unto you that the See Apostolic, from whence I come, hath a special respect to this realm above all others; England, beyond all countries, has been favoured by Providence, and not without cause, seeing that God himself, as it were, by providence hath given to this realm prerogative of nobility above others, which, to make plain unto you, it is to be considered that this island first of all islands received the light of Christ's religion.'

Going into history for a proof of this singular proposition, the legate said that the Britons had been converted by the See Apostolic, 'not one by one, as in other countries, as clocks increase the hours by distinction of times,' 'but altogether, at once, as it were, in a moment.' The Saxons had brought back heathenism, but had again been soon converted; and the Popes had continued to heap benefit upon benefit on the And in consequence favoured of the Holy See. favoured people, even making them a present of Ireland, 'which pertained to the See of Rome.' The country had prospered, and the people had been happy down to the time of the late schism; from that unhappy day they had been overwhelmed with calamities.

The legate dwelt in some detail on the

CH. 32. misfortunes of the preceding years. He then

A.D. 1554.

Nov. 28.

went on: ‘But, when all light of true religion seemed extinct, the churches defaced, the altars overthrown, the ministers corrupted, even like as in a lamp, the light being covered yet it is not quenched—even so in a few remained the confession of Christ’s faith, namely, in the breast of the Queen’s Excellency, of whom to speak without adulation, the saying of the prophet may be verified, *ecce quasi derelicta*: and see how miraculously God of his goodness preserved her Highness contrary to the expectation of men, that when numbers conspired against her, and policies were devised to disinherit her, and armed power prepared to destroy her, yet she, being a virgin, helpless, naked, and unarmed, prevailed, and had the victory of tyrants. For all these practices and devices, here you see her Grace established in her estate, your lawful queen and governess, born among you, whom God hath appointed to govern you for the restitution of true religion and the extirpation of all errors and sects. And to confirm her Grace more strongly in this enterprise, lo how the providence of God hath joined her in marriage with a prince of like religion, who, being a king of great might, armour, and force, yet useth towards you neither armour nor force, but seeketh you by way of love and amity; and as it was a singular favour of God to conjoin them in marriage, so it is not to be doubted but he shall send them issue for the comfort and surety of this commonwealth.

God has continued his favour in preserving the queen from schism,

And from treason.

He has married her to a mighty prince, who rules them by love, although he might crush them by force.

‘ Of all princes in Europe the Emperor hath

travailed most in the cause of religion, yet, CH. 32.
haply by some secret judgment of God, he hath
not obtained the end. I can well compare him A.D. 1554.
Nov. 28.
to David, which, though he were a man elect of
God, yet for that he was contaminate with blood
and' wars, he could not build the temple of
Jerusalem, but left the finishing thereof to Solo- Philip
mon, who was *Rex pacificus*. So it may be is the Solo-
mon who
shall re-
store the
faith of
Christen-
dom.
thought that the appeasing of controversies of
religion in Christendom is not appointed to this
Emperor, but rather to his son; who shall per-
form the building that his father had begun,
which church cannot be builded unless univer-
sally in all realms we adhere to one head, and do
acknowledge him to be the vicar of God, and to
have power from above—for all power is of God,
according to the saying, *Non est potestas nisi in Deo.*

‘All power being of God, he hath derived
that power into two parts here on earth, which
is into the powers imperial and ecclesiastical;
and these two powers, as they be several and dis-
tinct, so have they two several effects and opera-
tions. Secular princes be ministers of God to The power
of the
sword and
the power
of the keys.
execute vengeance upon transgressors and evil
livers, and to preserve the well-doers and inno-
cents from injury and violence; and this power is
represented in these two most excellent persons,
the King's and Queen's Majesties here present.
The other power is of ministration, which is the
power of keys and orders in the ecclesiastical
state; which is by the authority of God's word
and example of the apostles, and of all holy
fathers from Christ hitherto attributed and given

Ch. 32. to the Apostolic See of Rome by special prerogative: from which See I am here deputed legate and ambassador, having full and ample commission from thence, and have the keys committed to my hands. I confess to you that I have the keys—not as mine own keys, but as the keys of Him that sent me; and yet cannot I open, not for want of power in me to give, but for certain impediments in you to receive, which must be taken away before my commission can take effect. This I protest before you, my commission is not of prejudice to any person. I am come not to destroy, but to build; I come to reconcile, not to condemn; I am not come to compel, but to call again; I am not come to call anything in question already done; but my commission is of grace and clemency to such as will receive it—for, touching all matters that be past, they shall be as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness.

A.D. 1554.
Nov. 28.
The legate
is come to
open the
doors of the
kingdom of
heaven.

But the country must render itself capable of entry, before the doors can be unlocked.

‘ But the mean whereby you shall receive this benefit is to revoke and repeal those laws and statutes which be impediments, blocks, and bars to the execution of my commission. For, like as I myself had neither place nor voice to speak here amongst you, but was in all respects a banished man, till such time as ye had repealed those laws that lay in my way, even so cannot you receive the benefit and grace offered from the Apostolic See until the abrogation of such laws whereby you had disjoined and dissevered yourselves from the unity of Christ’s Church.

‘ It remaineth, therefore, that you, like true

Christians and provident men, for the weal of CH. 32.
your souls and bodies, ponder what is to be done
in this so weighty a cause, and so to frame your
acts and proceedings as they may first tend to
the glory of God, and, next, to the conservation
of your commonwealth, surety, and quietness.'

A.D. 1554.
Nov. 28.

The speech was listened to by such as could hear it with profound attention, and several persons were observed to clasp their hands again and again, and raise them convulsively before their faces. When the legate sat down, Gardiner gave him the thanks of parliament, and suggested that the two Houses should be left to themselves to consider what they would do. Pole withdrew with the king and queen, and Gardiner exclaimed: A prophet has 'the Lord raised up among us from among our brethren, and he shall save us.' For the benefit of those who had been at the further end of the hall, he then recapitulated the substance of what had been said. He added a few words of exhortation, and the meeting adjourned.

The next day, Thursday, Lords and Commons Nov. 29.
sate as usual at Westminster. The repeal of all
the acts which directly, or by implication, were
aimed at the Papacy, would occupy, it was found,
a considerable time; but the impatient legate was
ready to accept a promise as a pledge of performance,
and the general question was therefore put severally in both Houses whether the country
should return to obedience to the Apostolic See.
Among the peers no difficulty was made at all.
Among the Commons, in a house of 360, there

Lords and
Commons
meet, to
consider
whether
they will
be recon-
ciled.

CH. 32. were two dissentients—one, whose name is not
 A.D. 1554.
 Nov. 29. mentioned, gave a silent negative vote; the other,
 Sir Ralph Bagenall, stood up alone to protest.
 Twenty years, he said, ‘that great and worthy
 prince, King Henry,’ laboured to expel the Pope
 from England. He for one had ‘sworn to King
 Henry’s laws,’ and ‘he would keep his oath.’*

But Bagenall was listened to with smiles. The
 They agree resolution passed, the very ease and unanimity
 to make their sub- betraying the hollow ground on which it rested;
 mission with dan- and, again, devout Catholics beheld the evident
 gerous una- work of supernatural agency. Lords and Com-
 nimity. mons had received separately the same proposi-
 tion; they had discussed it, voted on it, and
 come to a conclusion, each with closed doors, and
 the messengers of the two Houses encountered
 each other on their way to communicate their
 several decisions.† The chancellor arranged
 with Pole the forms which should be observed,
 and it was agreed that the Houses should pre-
 sent a joint petition to the king and queen, ac-
 knowledging their past misconduct, engaging to
 undo the anti-papal legislation, and entreating
 their Majesties, as undefiled with the offences
 which tainted the body of the nation, to intercede

* The writer of the Italian ‘Description’ says that Bagenall gave way the next day. The contemporary narrative among the *Harleian MSS.* says that he persisted, and refused to kneel at the absolution.

† ‘Mentre la casa alta mandava a far sapere la sua conclusione alla casa bassa, la casa

bassa mandava anch’ ella per fare intendere il medesimo alla casa alta, sicchè i messi s’incontrarono per via; segno eviden- tissimo che lo Spirito di Dio lavorava in amendue i luoghi in un tempo i di una medesima conformità.’—*Descriptio Reduc- tionis Anglie.*

for the removal of the interdict. A committee of CH. 32. Lords and Commons sate to consider the words A.D. 1554. in which the supplication should be expressed, Nov. 29. and all preparations were completed by the evening.

And now St. Andrew's Day was come; a day, Nov. 30. as was then hoped, which would be remembered with awe and gratitude through all ages of English history. Being the festival of the institution of the Order of the Golden Fleece, high mass was sung in the morning in Westminster Abbey; Philip, Alva, and Ruy Gomez attended in their robes, with six hundred Spanish cavaliers. The Knights of the Garter were present in gorgeous costume, and nave and transept were thronged with the blended chivalry of England and Castile. It was two o'clock before the service was concluded. Philip returned to the palace to dinner, and the brief November afternoon was drawing in when the parliament re-assembled at the palace. At the upper end of the great hall a square platform had now been raised several steps above the floor; on which three chairs were placed as before; two under a canopy of cloth of gold, for the king and queen; a third on the right, removed a little distance from them, for the legate. Below the platform, benches were placed longitudinally towards either wall. The bishops sate on the side of the legate, the lay peers opposite them on the left. The Commons sat on rows of cross benches in front, and beyond them were the miscellaneous crowd of spectators, sitting or standing as they could

High mass
is said at
Westmin-
ster Abbey.

Parliament
meets again
at White-
hall.

CH. 32. find room. The cardinal, who had passed the morning at Lambeth, was conducted across the water in a state barge by Lord Arundel and six other peers. The king received him at the gate, and, leaving his suite in the care of the Duke of Alva, who was instructed to find them places, he accompanied Philip into the room adjoining the hall, where Mary, whose situation was supposed to prevent her from unnecessary exertion, was waiting for them. The royal procession was formed. Arundel and the Lords passed in to their places. The king and queen, with Pole in his legate's robes, ascended the steps of the platform, and took their seats.

When the stir which had been caused by their entrance was over, Gardiner mounted a tribune; and in the now fast-waning light he bowed to the king and queen, and declared the resolution at which the Houses had arrived. Then turning to the Lords and Commons, he asked if they continued in the same mind. Four hundred voices answered, 'We do.' 'Will you then,' he said, 'that I proceed in your names to supplicate for our absolution, that we may be received again into the body of the Holy Catholic Church, under the Pope, the supreme head thereof?'

Gardiner presents the petition of the Lords and Commons for the pardon of England. Again the voices assented. The Chancellor drew a scroll from under his robe, ascended the platform, and presented it unfolded on his knee to the queen. The queen looked through it, gave it to Philip, who looked through it also, and returned it. The Chancellor then rose and read aloud as follows:—

' We, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and CH. 32.
the Commons of the present Parliament assem-
bled, representing the whole body of the realm
of England, and dominions of the same, in our
own names particularly, and also of the said body
universally, in this our supplication directed to
your Majesties—with most humble suit that it
may by your gracious intercession and means be
exhibited to the Most Reverend Father in God
the Lord Cardinal Pole, Legate, sent specially
hither from our Most Holy Father Pope Julius
the Third and the See Apostolice of Rome—do
declare ourselves very sorry and repentant for
the schism and disobedience committed in this
realm and dominions of the same, against the
said See Apostolic, either by making, agreeing, or
executing any laws, ordinances, or command-
ments against the supremacy of the said See, or
otherwise doing or speaking what might im-
pugn the same; offering ourselves, and promising
by this our supplication that, for a token and
knowledge of our said repentance, we be, and
shall be always, ready, under and with the
authority of your Majesties, to do that which
shall be in us for the abrogation and repealing of
the said laws and ordinances in this present
parliament, as well for ourselves as for the whole
body whom we represent. Whereupon we most
humbly beseech your Majesties, as persons unde-
filed in the offences of this body towards the
Holy See—which nevertheless God by his provi-
dence hath made subject to your Majesties—so
to set forth this, our most humble suit, that we

A.D. 1554.
Nov. 30.

CH. 32. may obtain from the See Apostolic, by the said
 ————— A.D. 1554.
 Nov. 30. Most Reverend Father, as well particularly as
 universally, absolution, release, and discharge
 from all danger of such censures and sentences
 as by the laws of the Church we be fallen in;
 and that we may, as children repentant, be
 received into the bosom and unity of Christ's
 Church; so as this noble realm, with all the
 members thereof, may, in unity and perfect
 obedience to the See Apostolic and Pope for the
 time being, serve God and your Majesties, to the
 furtherance and advancement of his honour and
 glory.*

The legate's commission is read. Having completed the reading, the chancellor again presented the petition. The king and queen went through the forms of intercession, and a secretary read aloud, first, the legate's original commission, and, next, the all-important extended form of it.

Pole's share of the ceremony was now to begin. He first spoke a few words from his seat: 'Much indeed,' he said, 'the English nation had to thank the Almighty for recalling them to his fold. Once again God had given a token of his special favour to the realm; for as this nation, in the time of the Primitive Church, was the first to be called out of the darkness of heathenism, so now they were the first to whom God had given

* FOXE, vol. vi. p. 571. The petition was in Latin; but, as I have nowhere seen the original, I have not ventured to interfere with Foxe's translation. Foxe, | who could translate very idiomatically when he pleased, perhaps relieved his indignation on the present occasion by translating as awkwardly as possible.

grace to repent of their schism; and if their CH. 32.
repentance was sincere, how would the angels, —————
who rejoice at the conversion of a single sinner, A.D. 1554.
triumph at the recovery of a great and noble
people.'

He moved to rise; Mary and Philip, seeing that Pole rises,
the crisis was approaching, fell on their knees, and and, the
the assembly dropped at their example; while, in assembly
dead silence, across the dimly-lighted hall came kneeling,
the low, awful words of the absolu-
pronounces
the absolu-
tion.

'Our Lord Jesus Christ, which with his most precious blood hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase unto himself a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, whom the Father hath appointed head over all his Church,—he by his mercy absolves you, and we, by apostolic authority given unto us by the Most Holy Lord Pope Julius the Third, his vicegerent on earth, do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with this whole realm and the dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgment, censure, and pain for that cause incurred; and we do restore you again into the unity of our Mother the Holy Church, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'

Amidst the hushed breathing every tone was audible, and at the pauses were heard the smothered sobs of the queen. 'Amen, amen,' rose in answer from many voices. Some were really affected; some were caught for the moment with a contagion which it was hard to resist;

CH. 32. some threw themselves weeping in each other's arms. King, queen, and parliament, rising from their knees, went immediately—the legate leading—into the chapel of the palace, where the choir, with the rolling organ, sang *Te Deum*; and Pole closed the scene with a benediction from the altar.

A.D. 1554.
Nov. 30.
Te Deum is
sung in the
chapel, and
the legate
pronounces
a benedic-
tion.

The ecstasy
of some
persons.

'Blessed day for England,' cries the Italian describer, in a rapture of devotion. 'The people exclaim in ecstasies, we are reconciled to God, we are brought back to God: the king beholds his realm, so lately torn by divisions, at the mercy of the first enemy who would seize upon it, secured on a foundation which never can be shaken: and who can express the joy—who can tell the exultation of the queen? She has shown herself the handmaid of the Lord, and all generations shall call her blessed: she has given her kingdom to God as a thank-offering for those great mercies which He has bestowed upon her.'*

The legate
writes to
the Pope;

And the legate; but the legate has described his emotions in his own inimitable manner. Pole went back to Lambeth, not to rest, but to pour out his soul to the Holy Father.

In his last letter he said 'he had told his Holiness that he had hoped that England would be recovered to the fold at last; yet he had then some fears remaining, so far estranged were the minds of the people from the Holy See, lest at the last moment some compromise might ruin all.'

But the godly forwardness of the king and queen had overcome every difficulty; and on

* *Descriptio Reductionis Angliae: Epist. Reg. Pol. vol. v.*

that evening, the day of St. Andrew—of Andrew CH. 32.
who first brought his brother Peter to Christ—the
realm of England had been brought back to its
obedience to Peter's See, and through Peter to
Christ. The great act had been accomplished,
accomplished by the virtue and the labour of
the inestimable sovereigns with whom God had
blessed the world.

'And oh,' he said, 'how many things, how great
things, may the Church our mother, the bride of
Christ, promise herself from these her children?
Oh piety! oh antient faith! Whoever looks on
them will repeat the words of the prophet of the
Church's early offspring; 'This is the seed which
the Lord hath blessed.' How earnestly, how
lovingly, did your Holiness favour their marriage;
a marriage formed after the very pattern of that
of our Most High King, who, being Heir of the
world, was sent down by his Father from his
royal throne, to be at once the Spouse and the
Son of the Virgin Mary, and be made the Com-
forter and the Saviour of mankind: and, in like
manner, the greatest of all the princes upon
earth, the heir of his father's kingdom, departed
from his own broad and happy realms, that he
might come hither into this land of trouble, he,
too, to be spouse and son of this virgin; for,
indeed, though spouse he be, he so bears himself
towards her as if he were her son, to aid in the recon-
ciliation of this people to Christ and the Church.*

A.D. 1554.
Nov. 30.
Tells him
that he has
completed
the recon-
ciliation,

And draws
certain
compari-
sons.

* This amazing comparison must be given in the original
(for one cannot forget what Philip words of the legate:
had been, was, and was to be) 'Quam sancte sanctitas vestra

CH. 32. ‘When your Holiness first chose me as your
 A.D. 1554.
 Nov. 30. legate, the queen was rising up as a rod of incense out of trees of myrrh, and as frankincense out of the desert. And how does she now shine out in loveliness? What a savour does she give forth unto her people. Yea, even as the prophet saith of the mother of Christ, ‘before she was in labour she brought forth, before she was delivered she hath borne a man-child.’ Who ever yet hath seen it, who has heard of the similitude of it? Shall the earth bring forth in a day, or shall a nation of men be born together? but Mary has brought forth the nation of England before the time of that delivery for which we all are hoping?’

The bishops
and clergy
make demon-
strations.

Unable to exhaust itself in words, the Catholic enthusiasm flowed over in processions, in sermons, masses, and *Te Deums*. Gardiner at Paul’s Cross, on the Sunday succeeding, confessed his sins in having borne a part in bringing about the schism. Pole rode through the city between the king and queen, with his legate’s cross before him, blessing the people. When the news reached Rome Julius first embraced the mes-

omni auctoritate studioque, huic matrimonio favit; quod sane videatur præ se ferre magnam summi illius regis similitudinem, qui mundi hæres a regalibus sedibus a patre demissus fuit, ut esset virginis sponsus et filius, et hâc ratione universum genus humanum consolaretur ac servaret. Sic enim hic rex maximus omnium qui in terris sunt hæres, patriis relictis regnus et

illis quidem amplissimis ac felicissimis in hoc turbulentum regnum se contulit, hujusque virginis sponsus et filius est factus; ita enim erga illam se gerit tanquam filius esset cum sit sponsus, ut quod jam plane perficit sequestrem se atque adjutorem ad reconciliandos Christo et Ecclesie hos populos præberet.’ — Pole to the Pope: *Epist.*
REG. POL. vol. v.

senger, then flung himself on his knees, and said CH. 32.
a Paternoster. The guns at St. Angelo roared A.D. 1554.
in triumph. There were jubilees and masses of December.
the Holy Ghost, and bonfires, and illuminations, Nov. 30.
and pardons, and indulgences. In the exube-
rance of his hopes, the Pope sent a nuntio to urge
that, in the presence of this great mercy, peace
should be made with France, where the king was
devoted to the Church; the Catholic powers
would then have the command of Europe, and
the heretics could be destroyed.* One thing only
seemed forgotten, that the transaction was a bar-
gain. The Papal pardon had been thrust upon
criminals, whose hearts were so culpably indif-
ferent that it was necessary to bribe them to
accept it; and the conditions of the compromise,
even yet, were far from concluded.

The Pope
orders re-
joicings at
Rome, and
desires a
crusade.

The sanction given to the secularization of But the
Church property was a cruel disappointment to stream does
the clergy, who cared little for Rome, but cared not run as
much for wealth and power. Supported by a smoothly
party in the House of Commons who had not as he de-
shared in the plunder, and who envied those who sired,
had been more fortunate,† the ecclesiastical fac-
tion began to agitate for a reconsideration of the
question. Their friends in parliament said that
the dispensation was unnecessary. Every man's
conscience ought to be his guide whether to keep
his lands or surrender them. The queen was
known to hold the same opinion, and eager

* PALLAVICINO.

† Renard to the Emperor: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv.

CH. 32. preachers began to sound the note of restitution.* Growing bolder, the Lower House of Convocation presented the bishops immediately after with a series of remarkable requests. The Pope, in the terms on which he was reinstated, was but an ornamental unreality; and the practical English clergy desired substantial restorations which their eyes could see and their hands could handle.

A.D. 1554.
December.
The clergy
of England
petition for
the restora-
tion of
their
powers and
privileges,

They demanded, therefore, first, that if a statute was brought into parliament for the assurance of the Church estates to the present possessors, nothing should be allowed to pass prejudicial to their claims ‘on lands, tenements, pensions, or tythe rents, which had appertained to bishops, or other ecclesiastical persons.’

For the re-
peal of the
Statute of
Mortmain,

They demanded, secondly, the repeal of the Statute of Mortmain, and afterwards the abolition of lay impropriations, the punishment of heretics, the destruction of all the English Prayer-books

* ‘It was this morning told me by one of the Emperor’s council, who disliked much the matter, that a preacher of ours whose name he rehearsed, beateth the pulpit jollily in England for a restitution of abbey lands. It is a strange thing in a well-ordered commonwealth that a subject should be so hardy to cry unto the people openly such learning, whereby your winter work may in the summer be attempted with some storm. These unbridled preachings were so much disliked in the ill-governed time as men trusted in this good governance it should have been

amended; and so may it be when it shall please my Lords of the Council as diligently to consider it, as it is more than necessary to be looked unto. The party methinketh might well be put to silence, if he were asked how, being a monk, and having professed and vowed solemnly wilful poverty, he can with conscience keep a deanery and three or four benefices.’—Mason to Petre: *MS. Germany*, bundle 16, *Mary*, State Paper Office. It is not clear who the offender was. Perhaps it was Weston, Dean of Westminster and Prolocutor of Convocation.

and Bibles, the revival of the Act *De Hæretico Comburendo*, the re-establishment of the episcopal courts, the restoration of the legislative functions of Convocation, and the exemption of the clergy from the authority of secular magistrates.

A.D. 1554.
December.

Finally, they required that the Church should be restored absolutely to its ancient rights, immunities, and privileges; that no Premunire should issue against a bishop until he had first received notice and warning; that the judges should define 'a special doctrine of Premunire,' and that the Statutes of Provisors should not be wrested from their meaning.*

And for
limitations
and expla-
nations of
the Sta-
tutes of
Provisors.

The petition expressed the views of Gardiner, and was probably drawn under his direction. Had the alienated property been no more than the estates of the suppressed abbeys, the secular clergy would have acquiesced without difficulty in the existing disposition of it. But the benefices impropriated to the abbeys which had been sold or granted with the lands, they looked on as their own; the cathedral chapters and the bishops' sees, which had suffered from the second locust flight under Edward, formed part of the local Anglican Church: and Gardiner and his brother prelates declared that, if the Pope chose to set aside the canons, and permit the robbing of the religious orders, he might do as he pleased; but that he had neither right nor powers to sanction the spoliation of the working bishops and clergy. Thus the feast of reconciliation having been duly

The impro-
priation of
benefices
causes dis-
putes and
complaints.

* Demands of the Lower House of Convocation, December, 1554: printed in WILKINS's *Concilia*.

CH. 32. celebrated, both Houses of Parliament became again the theatre of fierce and fiery conflict.

A.D. 1554.

December.

The lawyers and the clergy are of different opinions.

There were wide varieties of opinion. The lawyers went beyond the clergy in limiting the powers of the Pope; the lawyers also said the Pope had no rights over the temporalities of bishops or abbots, deans, or rectors; but they did not any more admit the rights of the clergy. The English clergy, regular and secular, they said, had held their estates from immemorial time under the English crown, and it was not for any spiritual authority, domestic or foreign, to decide whether an English king and an English parliament might interfere to alter the disposition of those estates.

The composition of the House of Lords throws the power into the hands of the crown.

On other questions the clerical party were in the ascendant; they had a decided majority in the House of Commons; in the Upper House there was a compact body of twenty bishops; and Gardiner held the proxies of Lord Rich, Lord Oxford, Lord Westmoreland, and Lord Abergavenny. The queen had created four new peers; three of whom, Lord North, Lord Chandos, and Lord Williams were bigoted Catholics; the fourth, Lord Howard, was absent with the fleet, and was unrepresented. Lord North held the proxy of Lord Worcester; and the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Montague, and Lord Stourton acted generally with the chancellor. Lord Russell was keeping out of the way, being suspected of heresy; Wentworth was at Calais; Grey was at Guisnes; and the proxies of the two last noblemen, which in the late parlia-

ment were held by Arundel and Paget, were, for CH. 32.
some unknown reason, now held by no one. Thus, ——————
in a house of seventy-three members only, re- A.D. 1554.
duced to sixty-nine by the absence of Howard, December.
Russell, Wentworth, and Grey, Gardiner had
thirty-one votes whom he might count upon as
certain; he knew his power, and at once made
fatal use of it.

For two parliaments the liberal party had pre-
vented him from recovering the power of persecu-
tion. He did not attempt to pass the Inquisi-
tional Act on which he was defeated in the last
session. But the Act to revive the Lollard
Statutes was carried through the House of
Commons in the second week in December;
on the 15th it was brought up to the Lords;
and although those who had before fought
the battle of humanity, struggled again bravely
in the same cause, this time their numbers were
too small; they failed, and the lives of the Pro-
testants were in their enemies' hands.* Simul-
taneously Gardiner obtained for the bishops' The perse-
courts their long-coveted privilege of arbitrary cuting
arrest and discretionary punishment, and the statutes are
clergy obtained, as they desired, the restoration revived by
of their legislative powers. The property ques- Gardiner,
tion alone disintegrated the phalanx of orthodoxy, and after a
and left an opening for the principles of liberty to struggle are
assert themselves. The faithful and the faithless passed.

* ‘La chambre haulte y fait
difficulté pour ce que l'auctorité
et jurisdiction des evesques est
autorisée et renouvellée, et que
la peine semble trop grieve.

Mais l'on tient qu'ilz s'accorde-
ront par la pluralité.’—Renard
to the Emperor, December 21:
Granvelle Papers, vol. iv.

CH. 32. among the laity were alike participators in Church
 plunder, and were alike nervously sensitive when
 the current of the re-action ran in the direction
 of a demand for restitution.

A.D. 1554.
December.

Here, therefore, Paget and his friends chose their ground to maintain the fight.

It has been seen that Pole especially dreaded the appearance of any sort of composition between the country and the Papacy. The submission had, in fact, been purchased, but the purchase ought to be disguised. As soon, therefore, as the parliament set themselves to the fulfilment of their promise to undo the Acts by which England had separated itself from Rome, the legate required a simple statute of repeal. The Pope had granted a dispensation; it was enough, and it should be accepted gratefully: but the penitence of sinners ought not to be mixed with questions of worldly interest; the returning prodigal, when asking pardon at his father's feet, had made no conditions; the English nation must not disfigure their obedience by alluding, in the terms of it, to the Pope's benevolence to them.

But dif-
ferences
continue on
the ques-
tion of the
Church
lands;

The holders of the property, on the other hand, thinking more of the reality than the form, were determined that the Act of Repeal should contain, as nearly as possible, a true statement of their case. They *had* made conditions, and those conditions had been reluctantly complied with; and, to prevent future errors, the nature of the compact ought to be explained with the utmost distinctness. They had replaced the bishops in authority, and the bishops might be made use

of at some future time, indirectly or directly, to CH. 32.
disturb the settlement. A fresh Pontiff might
refuse to recognise the concessions of his pre-
decessors. The Papal supremacy, the seculariza-
tion of the Church property, and the authority of
the episcopal courts should, therefore, be inter-
woven inextricably to stand or fall together; and
as the lawyers denied the authority of the Holy
See to pronounce upon the matter at all, the
legal opinion might be embodied also as a fur-
ther security.

A.D. 1554.
December.
And on this
point the
laity make
good their
own opin-
ions.

After a week of violent discussion, the lay interest in the House of Lords found itself the strongest. Pole exclaimed that, if the submission and the dispensation were tied together, it was a simoniacal compact; the Pope's Holiness was bought and sold for a price, he said, and he would sooner go back to Rome, and leave his work unfinished, than consent to an act so derogatory to the Holy See. But the protest was vain; if the legate was so anxious, his anxiety was an additional reason why the opposition should persevere; if he chose to go, his departure could be endured.*

Pole
threatens
to go back
to Rome if
he cannot
have his
way.

So keen was the debate that there was not so much as a Christmas recess. Christmas-day was kept as a holyday. On the 26th the

* 'Le parlement fait instance que, en statut de la dicté obédience la dicté dispense soit inserée, ce que le dict cardinal ne veult admettre, à ce que ne semble la dicté obédience avoir este rachetée; et est passée si avant la dicté difficulté que le dict cardinal a declaré qu'il retourneroit plutôt à Rome et délaisseroit la chose imparfaite que consentir à chose contre l'autorité dudit S. Siege, et de si grande préjudice.' — Renard to the Emperor, December: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv.

CH. 32. struggle began again, and, fortunately, clouds had risen between the House of Commons and the court. Finding more difficulty than he expected in embroiling England with France, Philip, to feel the temper of the people, induced one of the peers to carry a note to the Lower House to request an opinion whether it was not the duty of a son to assist his father. An answer was instantly returned that the question had been already disposed of by the late parliament in the marriage treaty, and the further discussion of it was unnecessary.* Secretary Bourne, at the instigation of Gardiner, proposed to revive the claims on the pensions; but he met with no better reception. And the court made a further blunder. Mary had become so accustomed to success, that she assured herself she could obtain all that she desired. The object of the court was to secure the regency for Philip, with full sovereign powers, should she die leaving a child; should she die childless, to make him her successor. The first step would be Philip's coronation, which had been long talked of, and which the House of Commons was now desired to sanction. The

*Philip can-
not be
crowned.*

* 'Ces jours passez, il y eust ung personnage de la haute chambre, auquel il sembla pour ne perdre temps debvoir porter, (comme il fist) une billette à la basse par laquelle il mettait en avant s'il n'estoit pas raisonnable que le filz secourust le père, voulant dire de ce royaume à l'Empereur. Ce qui fut si bien recueilly du tiers estat, si promptement et

avecques grande raison respondu, comme par le dernier parlement et le traité de mariage d'entre ce royaume et royne cela avoit esté et estoit tellement consideré, qu'il n'estoit plus besoign mettre telles choses en avant pour les faire entrer à la guerre.'—Noailles to the King of France: *Ambassades*, vol. iv. p. 76.

House of Commons returned a unanimous re- CH. 32.
fusal.*

The effects of these cross influences on the Papal statute, though they cannot be traced in detail, must have been not inconsiderable. At length, on the 4th of January, after passing backwards and forwards for a fortnight between the two Houses, the Great Bill, as it was called, emerged, finished, in the form of a petition to the crown :—

A.D. 1554.
December.

The bill of
reconcilia-
tion is
passed.

'Whereas,' so runs the preamble,† 'since the 20th year of King Henry VIII., of famous memory, much false and erroneous doctrine hath been taught, preached, and written, partly by divers natural-born subjects of this realm, and partly being brought in hither from sundry foreign countries, hath been sown and spread abroad within the same—by reason whereof as well the spirituality as the temporality of your Highness's realm and dominions have swerved from the obedience of the See Apostolic, and declined from the unity of Christ's Church, and so have continued until such time as—your Majesty being first raised up by God, and set in the seat royal over us, and then by his divine and gracious Providence knit in marriage with the most noble and virtuous prince the King

* 'Je vous puis dire Sire que toutes ces choses ont passé bien loing de l'esperance qu'il avoit, puisqu'il s'attendoit de se faire couronner, comme depuis six jours il en avoit particulierement faict rechercher œulx de la basse

chambre dudit parlement qui luy ont tous d'une voix rejetté.'

—Noailles to the King of France:
Ambassades, vol. iv. p. 137.

† 1 and 2 Philip and Mary,
cap. 8.

Ch. 32. our Sovereign Lord your husband—the Pope's Holiness and the See Apostolic sent hither unto your Majesties, as unto persons undefiled, and by God's goodness preserved from the common infection aforesaid, and to the whole realm, the Most Reverend Father in God the Lord Cardinal Pole, Legate *de Latere*, to call us again into the right way, from which we have all this long while wandered and strayed; and we, after sundry and long plagues and calamities, seeing, by the goodness of God, our own errors, have acknowledged the same unto the said Most Reverend Father, and by him have been and are (the rather at the contemplation of your Majesties) received and embraced into the unity of Christ's Church, upon our humble submission, and promise made for a declaration of our repentance to repeal and abrogate such acts and statutes as had been made in Parliament since the said 20th year of the said King Henry VIII., against the supremacy of the See Apostolic, as in our submission exhibited to the said Most Reverend Father in God, by your Majesties appeareth—it may like your Majesty, for the accomplishment of our promise, that all such laws be repealed. That is to say:—

All acts, which make directly or indirectly against the authority of the Pope, are repealed.

'The Act against obtaining Dispensations from Rome for Pluralities and non-Residence.*

'The Act that no Person shall be cited out of the Diocese where he or she dwelleth.†

'The Act against Appeals to the See of Rome.‡

* 21 Henry VIII. cap. 13.

† 23 Henry VIII. cap. 9.

‡ 24 Henry VIII. cap. 12.

'The Act against the Payment of Annates and CH. 32.
First-fruits to the See of Rome.*

A.D. 1555.
January.

'The Act for the Submission of the Clergy.†

'The Act for the Election and Consecration of
Bishops.‡

'The Act against Exactions from the See of
Rome.§

'The Act of the Royal Supremacy.||

'The Act for the Consecration of Suffragan
Bishops.¶

'The Act for the Reform of the Canon Law.**

'The Act against the Authority of the Pope.††

'The Act for the Release of those who had ob-
tained Dispensations from Rome.††

'The Act authorizing the King to appoint
Bishops by Letters Patent. §§

'The Act of Precontracts and Degrees of Con-
sanguinity.|||

'The Act for the King's Style.¶¶

'The Act permitting the Marriage of Doctors
of Civil Law.***

In the repeal of these statutes the entire eccl-
esiastical legislation of Henry VIII. was swept
away; and, so far as a majority in a single par-
liament could affect them, the work was done
absolutely and with clean completeness.

* 23 Henry VIII. cap. 20.
The act was repealed, but the
annates were not restored.

† 25 Henry VIII. cap. 19.

‡ 25 Henry VIII. cap. 20.

§ 25 Henry VIII. cap. 21.

|| 26 Henry VIII. cap. 1.

¶ 26 Henry VIII. cap. 14.

** 27 Henry VIII. cap. 15.

†† 28 Henry VIII. cap. 10.

†† 28 Henry VIII. cap. 16.

||| 31 Henry VIII. cap. 9.

||| 33 Henry VIII. cap. 38.

¶¶ 35 Henry VIII. cap. 3.

*** 37 Henry VIII. cap. 17.

CH. 32.

A.D. 1555.
January.

But parliament will not permit the succession to be altered.

But there remained two other acts collaterally and accidentally affecting the See of Rome; for the repeal of which the court was no less anxious than for the repeal of the Act of Supremacy, where the parliament were not so complaisant.

Throughout the whole reaction under Mary there was one point on which the laity never wavered. Attempts such as that which has been just mentioned were made incessantly, directly or indirectly, to alter the succession and cut off Elizabeth. They were like the fretful and profitless chafings of waves upon a rock. The two acts on which Elizabeth's claims were rested* touched, in one or other of their clauses, the Papal prerogative, and were included in the list to be condemned. But, of these acts, 'so much only' as affected the See of Rome was repealed. The rest was studiously declared to continue in force.

Yet, with this reservation, the parliament had gone far in their concessions, and it remained for them to secure their equivalent.

The clergy are compelled to relinquish all claims on alienated church property.

They reinstated the bishops, but, in giving back a power which had been so much abused, they took care to protect—not, alas! the innocent lives which were about to be sacrificed—but their own interests. The bishops and clergy of the Province of Canterbury having been made to state their case and their claims, in a petition to the crown, they were then compelled formally to relinquish those claims; and the petition and the relinquishment

* 28 Henry VIII. cap. 7; 35 Henry VIII. cap. 1.

were embodied in the act as the condition of CH. 32.
the restoration of the authority of the Church —————
courts.* In continuation, the Lords and Com.
mons desired that, for the removal ‘of all occa-
sion of contention, suspicion, and trouble, both
outwardly and inwardly, in men’s consciences,’ the
Pope’s Holiness, as represented by the legate, ‘by
dispensation, toleration, or permission, as the case
required,’ would recognise all such foundations of
colleges, hospitals, cathedrals, churches, schools,
or bishoprics as had been established during the
schism, would confirm the validity of all ecclesias-
tical acts which had been performed during the
same period; and, finally, would consent that
all property, of whatever kind, taken from the
Church, should remain to its present possessors—
‘so as all persons having sufficient conveyance of
the said lands, goods, and chattels by the common
laws, or acts, or statutes of the realm, might, with-
out scruple of conscience, enjoy them without
impeachment or trouble, by pretence of any

* ‘Albeit, by the laws of the Church, the bishops and clergy were the defenders and protectors of all ecclesiastical rights, and would therefore in nature be bound to use their best endeavours for the recovery of the lands and goods lost to the Church during the late schism, they, nevertheless, perceiving the tenures of those lands and goods were now complicated beyond power of extrication, and that the attempt to recover them might promote disaffection in the realm, and cause the overthrow of the

present happy settlement of religion, preferring public peace to private commodity, and the salvation of souls to worldly possessions, did consent that the present disposition of those lands and goods should remain undisturbed. They besought their Majesties to intercede with the legate for his consent, and, for themselves, they requested, in return, that the lawful jurisdiction of the Church might be restored.’—1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 8, sec. 31.

CH. 32. general council, canon, or ecclesiastical law, and clear from all dangers of the censures of the Church.' The petitions, both of clergy and parliament, the act went on to say, had been considered by the cardinal; and the cardinal had acquiesced. He had undertaken, in the Pope's name, that the possessors of either lands or goods should never be molested either then or in time to come, in virtue of any Papal decree, or canon, or council; that if any attempt should be made by any bishop or other ecclesiastic to employ the spiritual weapons of the Church to extort restitution, such act or acts were declared vain and of none effect. The dispensation was pronounced, nor could the legate's protests avail to prevent it from appearing in the act. He was permitted, only in consideration of the sacrifice, to interweave amidst the legal technicalities some portion of his own feeling. The impious detainers of holy things, while permitted to maintain their iniquity, were reminded of the fate of Belshazzar, and were urged to restore the patines, chalices, and ornaments of the altars. The impro priators of benefices were implored, in the mercy of Christ, to remember the souls of the people, and provide for the decent performance of the services of the churches.*

* 'Et licet omnes res mobiles ecclesiarum indistincte iis qui eas tenent relaxaverimus, eos tamen admonitos esse volumus ut ante oculos habentes divini judicii severitatem contra Balthazarem Regem Babylonis, qui vasa sacra

non a se sed a patre a templo ablata in profanos usus convertit, ea propriis ecclesiis si extant vel aliis restituant, hortantes etiam et per viscera misericordia Jesu Christi obtestantes eos omnes quos haec res tangit, ut salutis

Here the act might have been expected to end. The nature of the transaction between the parliament and the Pope had been made sufficiently clear. Yet, had nothing more been said, the surrender of their claims by the clergy would have implied that they had parted with something which they might have legitimately required. Under the inspiration of the lawyers, therefore, a series of clauses were superadded, explaining that, notwithstanding the dispensation, ‘The title of all lands, possessions, and hereditaments in their Majesties’ realms and dominions was grounded in the laws, statutes, and customs of the same, and by their high jurisdiction, authority royal, and crown imperial, *and in their courts only*, might be impleaded, ordered, tried, and judged, and none otherwise:’ and, therefore, ‘whosoever, by any process obtained out of any ecclesiastical court within the realm or without, or by pretence of any spiritual jurisdiction or otherwise, contrary to the laws of the realm, should quiet or molest any person or persons, or body politic, for any of the said lands or things above specified, should incur the danger of Premunire, and should suffer and incur the forfeitures and pains contained in the same.’*

sue non omnino immemores hoc saltem efficiant, ut ex bonis ecclesiasticis maxime in que ratione personatum et vicariatum populi ministrorum sustentationi fuerint specialiter destinata, seu aliis cathedralibus et aliis que nunc extant inferioribus ecclesiis

curam animarum exercentibus, ita provideatur, ut eorum pastores commode et honeste juxta eorum qualitatem et statum sustentari possint, et curam animarum laudabiliter exercere.—¹ *I* and ² *Philip and Mary, cap. 8, sec. 31.*

* *Ibid.*

A.D. 1555.
January.

CH. 32. Vainly the clergy had entreated for a limitation or removal of Premunire. That spectre remained unexorcised in all its shadowy terror; and while it survived, the penitence of England went no deeper than the lips, however fine the words and eloquent the phrases in which it was expressed. As some compensation, the Mortmain Act was suspended for twenty years. Yet, as if it were in reply to Pole's appeal, a mischievous provision closed the act, that, notwithstanding anything contained in it, laymen entitled to tithes might recover them with the same readiness as before the first day of the present parliament.*

Laymen
entitled to
tithes may
recover
them as
before the
passing of
the act.

Such was the great statute of reconciliation with Rome, with which, in the inability to obtain a better, the legate was compelled to be satisfied, and to reconsider his threat of going back to Italy.

A Regency
Bill, unfav-
ourable to
Philip, is
passed in
the House
of Lords.

This first conflict was no sooner ended than another commenced. The Commons would not consent that Philip should be crowned; but, as the queen was *enceinte*, provision had to be made for a regency, and a bill was introduced into the Upper House which has not survived, but which, in spirit, was unfavourable to the king.† Gardiner, in the course of the debate, attempted to

* 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 8, sec. 31.

† 'It was suspected,' says Renard, 'que le dict act se proposoit à mauvais fin, qu'il estoit contre les traitez et capitulation de mariage pour hereder la couronne

qui venoit de maulvais auteurs quilz plustôt desiroient le mal dudit S. roy et inquietude du dict royaume que le bien.'—Renard to the Emperor: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. p. 347.

put in a clause affecting Elizabeth,* but the success was no better than usual. The act went down to the Commons, where, however, it was immediately cancelled. Though the Commons would give Philip no rights as king, they were better disposed towards him than the Lords; and they drew another bill of their own, in which they declared the father to be the natural and fitting guardian of the child. The experience of protectorates, they said, had been uniformly unfortunate, and should the queen die leaving an heir, Philip should be regent of the realm during the minority; if obliged to be absent on the Continent, he might himself nominate his deputy;† and so long as it should be his pleasure to remain in England, his person should be under the protection of the laws of high treason.

Taking courage from the apparent disposition of the House, the friends of the court proposed that, should the queen die childless, the crown should devolve absolutely upon him for his life.‡ But in this they were going too far. The suggestion was listened to coldly; and Philip, who had really calculated on obtaining from parliament, in some form or other, a security for his succession, despatched Ruy Gomez to Brussels, to consult the Emperor on the course which should be

* *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. p. 348.

† 'Et que en son absence il y pourra nommer qui luy plaira.' — *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. p. 348.

‡ 'Aulcuns particuliers pro-

posaient en ladict chambre basse que le dict S. roy deust demeurer roy absolut dudit royaume mourant ladict dame sans hoirs sa vie durant.' — *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. p. 348.

A.D. 1555.
January.

The Com-
mons cancel
the bill,
and draw
another in
the inter-
est of the
Court;

Neverthe-
less, they
will not
give the
reversion
of the
crown to
Philip,

CH. 32. pursued.* On the whole, however, could the bill of the House of Commons be carried, Renard was disposed to be contented; the queen was confident in her hopes of an heir, and it might not be worth while to irritate the people unnecessarily about Elizabeth.† The clause empowering Philip to govern by deputy in his absence was especially satisfactory.‡

A.D. 1555.
January.
And the peers again modify the Regency bill.

But the peers, whom the Commons had refused to consult on the new form of the measure, would not part so easily with their own opinions; they adopted the phraseology of the Lower House, but this particular and precious feature in it they pared away. The bill, as it eventually passed, declared Philip regent till his child should be of age, and so long as he continued in the realm; but, at the same time, fatally for the objects at which he was aiming, it bound him again to observe all the articles of the marriage treaty, ‘which, during the time that he should hold the government, should remain and continue in as full force and strength, as if they were newly inserted and rehearsed in the present act.’§

* ‘Ruy Gomez est allé vers l’Empereur pour faire entendre les difficultez qu’ilz trouvent de faire demeurer ceste couronne à son dict filz, au cas que la royne sa feurne allast de vie à trespass sans enfans, et d’autant qu’ilz ont congneu la volonté de ceulx cy estre bien loin de leur intention; et pour ce scavoir par quelz moyens il semblera bon andict Empereur qu’on puisse mettre cela en termes devant la fin de ce parlement.’—NOAILLES.

† ‘Et quant à la declaration de baptardise l’on n’est d’opinion qu’elle se doige entamer aux dict parlement, puisque l’apparence d’heretier est certaine et pour l’évident et congneue contrariété que seroit en toute le royaume.’—Renard to the Emperor: *Granvelle Papers*, p. 348.

‡ Ibid.

§ 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 10.

The disposition of the House of Lords was the more dangerous, because the bishops, of course, voted with the government, and the strength of the opposition, therefore, implied something like unanimity in the lay peers. The persecuting act had been carried with difficulty, and in the reconciliation with Rome the legate had been studiously mortified. On the succession and the coronation, the court had been wholly baffled; and in the Regency Bill they had obtained but half of what they had desired. At the least Mary had hoped to secure for the king the free disposal of the army and the finances, and she had not been able so much as to ask for it. Compelled to rest contented with such advantages as had been secured, the court would not risk the results of further controversy by prolonging the session; and on the 16th of January, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the king and queen came to the House of Lords almost unattended, and with an evident expression of dissatisfaction dissolved the parliament.*

CH. 32.
A.D. 1555.
January.

The queen
dissolves
parliament.

* 'Ilz sont pour cejourdhuy bien esloigne de ce qu'ilz pensoient faire il y a six sepmaines en ce parlement, ou ilz faisoient compte que ne pouvant couronner ce roay ou lui faire succeder ce royaume, à tout le moins de lui en faire tumber l'administration, avecques tel povoer sur les forces et finances qu'il en eust peu disposer à sa volonté. Toutefois la chose a pris telle issue que pour ce coup il fault qu'il se contente à beaucoup moins qu'il ne s'attendoit.'

'Ce qui a tellement despleu à cedict roay et royne, que le 16 de ce mois ilz allerent par eau tous deulx clore et terminer ledict parlement, sur les quatre heures du soir, assez petitement accompagnez et sans aucune ceremonie, monstrans et faisans congnoistre à ung chascun avoir quelque grand mescontentement contre l'assemblé d'icelluy.'—Noailles to the Constable: *Ambassades*, vol. iv. p. 153.

CH. 32. I have been particular in relating the proceedings of this parliament, because it marks the point where the flood tide of reaction ceased to ascend, and the ebb recommenced. From the beginning of the Reformation in 1529, two distinct movements had gone on side by side—the alteration of doctrines, and the emancipation of the laity from Papal and ecclesiastical domination. With the first, the contemporaries of Henry VIII., the country gentlemen and the peers, who were the heads of families at the period of Mary's accession, had never sympathized; and the tyranny of the Protestants while they were in power had converted a disapproval which time would have overcome, into active and determined indignation. The Papacy was a mixed question; the Pilgrims of Grace in 1536, and the Cornish rebels in 1549, had demanded the restoration of the spiritual primacy to the See of St. Peter, and Henry himself, until Pole and Paul III. called on Europe to unite in a crusade against him, had not determined wholly against some degree of concession. In the Pope, as a sovereign who claimed reverence and tribute, who interfered with the laws of the land, and maintained at Rome a supreme Court of Appeal—who pretended a right to depose kings and absolve subjects from their allegiance—who held a weapon in excommunication as terrible to the laity as *Premunire* was terrible to ecclesiastics,—in the Pope under this aspect, only a few insignificant fanatics entertained any kind of interest.

A.D. 1555.
January.
Reaction
has reached
its height,
and the
tide begins
to turn.

The resto-
ration is
more appa-
rent than
real, and
the recov-
ered
power of
the Church
is over
opinion
only,

But experience had proved that to a nation cut

off from the centre of Catholic union, the maintenance of orthodoxy was impossible: the supremacy of the Pope, therefore, came back as a tolerated feature in the return to the Catholic faith, and the ecclesiastical courts were reinstated in authority to check unlicensed extravagance of opinion. Their restored power, however, was over opinion only; wherever the pretensions of the Church would come in collision with the political constitution, wherever they menaced the independence of the temporal magistrate or the tenure of property, there the progress of restoration was checked by the rock, and could eat no further into the soil. The Pope and the clergy recovered their titular rank, and in one direction unhappily they recovered the reality of power. But the temporal spoils of the struggle remained with the laity, and if the clergy lifted a hand to retake them, their weapons would be instantly wrenched from their grasp.

If the genuine friends of human freedom had acquiesced without resistance in this conclusion, if the nobility had contented themselves with securing their worldly and political interests, and had made no effort to restrain or modify the exercise of the authority which they were giving back, they might be accused of having accepted a dishonourable compromise. But they did what they could. They worked with such legal means as were in their power, and for two parliaments they succeeded in keeping persecution at bay; they failed in the third, but failed only after a struggle. The Protestants themselves had created, by their

CH. 32:

A.D. 1555.
January.

And the
laity are
but par-
tially to be
blamed for
the tyranny
which the
clergy ex-
ercised.

CH. 32. own misconduct, the difficulty of defending them ;
 A.D. 1555.
 January. and armed unconstitutional resistance was an expedient to be resorted to, only when it had been seen how the clergy would conduct themselves. English statesmen may be pardoned if they did not anticipate the passions to which the guardians of orthodoxy were about to abandon themselves. Parliament had maintained the independence of the English courts of law. It had maintained the Premunire. It had forbidden the succession to be tampered with. If this was not everything, it was something—something which in the end would be the undoing of all the rest.

The court and the bishops, however, were for the present absolute in their own province. The persecuting acts were once more upon the Statute Book; and when the realities of the debates in parliament had disappeared, the cardinal and the queen could again give the rein to their imagination. They had called up a phantom out of its grave, and they persuaded themselves that they were witnessing the resurrection of the spirit of truth, that heresy was about to vanish from off the English soil, like an exhalation of the morning, at the brightness of the Papal return. The chancellor and the clergy were springing at the leash like hounds with the game in view, fanaticism and revenge lashing them forward. If the temporal schemes of the court were thwarted, it was, perhaps, because Heaven desired that exclusive attention should be given first to the salvation of souls.

For all past political offences, therefore, there

The perse-
cution is
about to
commence.

was now an amnesty, and such prisoners as remained unexecuted for Wyatt's conspiracy were released from the Tower on the 18th of January. On the 25th a hundred and sixty priests walked in procession through the London streets, chanting litanies, with eight bishops walking after them, and Bonner carrying the Host. On the 28th the cardinal issued his first general instructions. The bishops were directed to call together their clergy in every diocese in England, and to inform them of the benevolent love of the Holy Father, and of the arrival of the legate with powers to absolve them from their guilt. They were to relate the acts of the late parliament, with the reconciliation and absolution of the Lords and Commons; and they were to give general notice that authority had been restored to the ecclesiastical courts, to proceed against the enemies of the faith, and punish them according to law.

CH. 32.
A.D. 1555.
January.
Political offenders receive an amnesty.
And the legate issues his first edict.

A day was then to be fixed on which the clergy should appear with their confessions, and be received into the Church. In the assignment of their several penances, a distinction was to be made between those who had taught heresy and those who had merely lapsed into it.

When the clergy had been reconciled, they were again in turn to exhort the laity in all churches and cathedrals, to accept the grace which was offered to them; and that they might understand that they were not at liberty to refuse the invitation, a time was assigned to them within which their submissions must be all completed. A book was to be kept in every diocese, where

The bishops are to reconcile the clergy.

And the clergy to reconcile the laity.

CH. 32.

A.D. 1554.
January.
The names
of all who
submit are
to be en-
tered in a
book,
and those
who refuse
are to
suffer.

the names of those who were received were to be entered. A visitation was to be held throughout the country at the end of the spring, and all who had not complied before Easter day, or who, after compliance, 'had returned to their vomit,' would be proceeded against with the utmost severity of the law.*

The introduction of the Register was the Inquisition under another name. There was no limit, except in the humanity or the prudence of the bishops, to the tyranny which they would be enabled to exercise. The cardinal professed to desire that, before heretics were punished with death, mild means should first be tried with them;† the meaning which he attached to the words was illustrated in an instant example.

Jan. 28.
The first
heresy
court is
opened.

The instructions were the signal for the bishops to commence business. On the day of their appearance Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstal, and three other prelates, formed a court in St. Mary Overy's Church, in Southwark; and Hooper, and Rogers, a canon of St. Paul's, were brought up before them.

Rogers had been distinguished in the first

* Instructions of Cardinal Pole to the Bishops: BURNET'S *Collectanea*.

† The opinion of Pole, on the propriety of putting men to death for nonconformity, was strictly orthodox. He regarded heretics, he said, as rebellious children, with whom persuasion and mild correction should first be tried. 'Nec tamen, negarim fieri poasse,' he continued, 'ut

alicuius opiniones tam perniciose existant, ipseque jam corruptus tam sit ad corrumpendos alios promptus ac sedulus ut non dubitârim dicere eum e vita tolli oportere et tanquam putridum membrum e corpore execari. Neque id tamen priusquam ejus sanandi causâ omnis leviter medendi tentata sit ratio.—Pole to the Cardinal of Augsburg: *Epist. REG. Pol. vol. iv.*

bright days of Protestantism. He had been a fellow-labourer with Tyndal and Coverdale, at Antwerp, in the translation of the Bible. Afterwards, taking a German wife, he lived for a time at Wittenberg, not unknown, we may be sure, to Martin Luther. On the accession of Edward, he returned to England, and worked among the London clergy till the end of the reign; and on Mary's accession he was one of the preachers at Paul's Cross who had dared to speak against the reaction. He had been rebuked by the council, and his friends had urged him to fly; but, like Cranmer, he thought that duty required him to stay at his post, and, in due time, without, however, having given fresh provocation, he was shut up in Newgate by Bonner.

Hooper, when the unfortunate garment controversy was brought to an end, had shown by his conduct in his diocese that in one instance at least doctrinal fanaticism was compatible with the loftiest excellence. While the great world was scrambling for the Church property, Hooper was found petitioning the council for leave to augment impoverished livings out of his own income.* In the hall of his palace at Gloucester a profuse hospitality was offered daily to those who were most in need of it. The poor of the city were invited by relays to solid meat dinners, and the bishop with the courtesy of a gentleman dined with them, and treated them with the same respect as if they had been the highest in the

* *Privy Council Register*, Edward VI. MS.

A.D. 1555.
January.
Rogers is
brought up
for trial,

And
Hooper is
brought up
with him,

CH. 32. land. He was one of the first persons arrested after Mary's accession, and the cross of persecution at once happily made his peace with Ridley. In an affectionate interchange of letters, the two confessors exhorted each other to constancy in the end which both foresaw, determining 'if they could not overthrow, at least, to shake those high altitudes' of spiritual tyranny.* The Fleet prison had now been Hooper's house for eighteen months. At first, on payment of heavy fees to the warden, he had lived in some degree of comfort; but as soon as his deprivation was declared, Gardiner ordered that he should be confined in one of the common prisoners' wards; where 'with a wicked man and a wicked woman' for his companions, with a bed of straw and a rotten counterpane, the prison sink on one side of his cell and Fleet ditch on the other, he waited till it would please parliament to permit the dignitaries of the Church to murder him.†

Hooper and Rogers are required to submit.

These were the two persons with whom the Marian persecution opened. On their appearance in the court, they were required briefly to make their submission. They attempted to argue; but they were told that when parliament had determined a thing, private men were not to call it in question, and they were allowed twenty-four hours to make up their minds. As they were leaving the church Hooper was heard to say, 'Come, brother Rogers, must we

* Correspondence between Hooper and Ridley: *Foxe*, vol. vi.

† Account of Hooper's Imprisonment, by himself: *Foxe*, vol. vi.

After
eighteen
months'
imprison-
ment in the
Fleet.

two take this matter first in hand and fry these CH. 32.
faggots?' 'Yea, sir, with God's grace,' Rogers —
answered. 'Doubt not,' Hooper said, 'but God A.D. 1555.
will give us strength.' Jan. 29.

They were remanded to prison. The next morning they were brought again before the court. 'The queen's mercy' was offered them, if they would recant; they refused, and they were sentenced to die. Rogers asked to be allowed to take leave of his wife and children. Gardiner, with a savage taunt, refused. The day of execution was left uncertain. They were sent to Newgate to wait the queen's pleasure. On the 30th, Taylor of Hadley, Laurence Sandars, rector of All Hallows, and the illustrious Bradford, were passed through the same forms with the same results. Another, a notorious preacher, called Cardmaker, flinched, and made his submission.

They refuse, and
are sentenced to
die.

Rogers was to 'break the ice,' as Bradford described it.* On the morning of the 4th of February the wife of the keeper of Newgate came to his bedside. He was sleeping soundly, and she woke him with difficulty to let him know that he was wanted. The Bishop of London was waiting, she said, to degrade him from the priesthood, and he was then to go out and die. Rubbing his eyes, and collecting himself, he hurried on his clothes. 'If it be thus,' he said, 'I need not tie my points.' Hooper had been sent for also for the ceremony of degradation. The vestments used in the mass were

Feb. 4.
Rogers is
called from
his bed,
and de-
graded by
Bonner.

* Bradford to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer: FOKE.

CH. 32. thrown over them, and were then one by one removed. They were pronounced deposed from the priestly office, incapable of offering further sacrifice — except, indeed, the only acceptable sacrifice which man can ever offer, the sacrifice of himself. Again Rogers entreated permission to see his wife, and again he was refused.

The two friends were then parted. Hooper was to suffer at Gloucester, and returned to his cell; Rogers was committed to the sheriff, and led out to Smithfield. The Catholics had affected to sneer at the faith of their rivals. There He is taken to Smith-field, again offered pardon on recantation, was a general conviction among them, which was shared probably by Pole and Gardiner, that the Protestants would all flinch at the last; that they had no ‘doctrine that would abide the fire.’ When Rogers appeared, therefore, the exultation of the people in his constancy overpowered the horror of his fate, and he was received with rounds of cheers. His family, whom he was forbidden to part with in private, were waiting on the way to see him—his wife with nine little ones at her side and a tenth upon her breast—and they, too, welcomed him with hysterical cries of joy, as if he were on his way to a festival.* Sir

* ‘Cejourdhuy a esté faict le confirmation de l’alliance entre le Pape et ce Royaulme par ung sacrifice publique et solempnel d’ung docteur predican nommé Rogerus, lequel a esté brûlé tout vif pour estre Lutherien ; mais il est mort persistant en son opinion, à quoy la plus grand part de ce peuple a pris tel

plaisir qu’ilz n’ont eu craincte de luy faire plusieurs acclamations pour conforter son couraige ; et mesmes ses enfans y ont assistés le consolantes de telle façon qu’il sembloit qu’on le menast aux noces.—Noailles to Montmorency : *Ambassades*, vol. iv.

Wtho^rt Rochester was in attendance at the stake CH. 32.
report his behaviour. At the last moment ——————
was offered pardon if he would give way, but
vain. The fire was lighted. The suffering
me^d to be nothing. He bathed his hands in
the flame as 'if it was cold water,' raised his
es to heaven, and died.

A.D. 1555.
Feb. 4,
Monday.
And again
refusing, he
is burnt.

The same night a party of the royal guard took Hooper is
charge of Hooper, the order of whose execution
is arranged by a mandate from the crown. As
n obstinate, false, and detestable heretic,' he
is to be burned in the city 'which he had in-
stated with his pernicious doctrines,' and 'foras-
uch as being a vain-glorious person, and delight-
g in his tongue,' he 'might persuade the people
to agreement with him, had he liberty to use
' care was to be taken that he should not speak
ither at the stake or on his way to it.* He was
arried down on horseback by easy stages; and
n the forenoon of Thursday, the 7th, he dined
t Cirencester, 'at a woman's house who had
lways hated the truth, and spoken all evil she
ould of him.' This woman had shared in the
opinion that Protestants had no serious convic-
tions, and had often expressed her belief that
Hooper, particularly, would fail if brought to the
trial. She found that both in him and in his
creed there was more than she had supposed; and
'perceiving the caues of his coming, she lamented
his case with tears, and showed him all the friend-
ship she could.'

* Mandate for the Execution of Hooper: BURNET's *Collectanea*.

CH. 32.

A.D. 1555.
February.

At five in the evening he arrived at Gloucester. The road, for a mile outside the town, was lined with people, and the mayor was in attendance, with an escort, to prevent a rescue. But the feeling was rather of awe and expectation, and those who loved Hooper best knew that the highest service which he could render to his faith was to die for it.

He is al-
lowed a day
to prepare
for death.Feb. 8.
Sir An-
THONY
Kingston
visits him.

A day's interval of preparation was allowed him, with a private room. He was in the custody of the sheriff; 'and there was this difference observed between the keepers of the bishops' prisons and the keepers of the crown prisons, that the bishops' keepers were ever cruel; the keepers of the crown prisons showed, for the most part, such favour as they might.* After a sound night's rest, Hooper rose early, and passed the morning in solitary prayer. In the course of the day, young Sir Anthony Kingston, one of the commissioners appointed to superintend the execution, expressed a wish to see him. Kingston was an old acquaintance, Hooper having been the means of bringing him out of evil ways. He entered the room unannounced. Hooper was on his knees, and, looking round at the intruder, did not at first know him. Kingston told him his name, and then, bursting into tears, said:—

'Oh, consider; life is sweet and death is bitter; therefore, seeing life may be had, desire to live, for life hereafter may do good.'

Hooper answered:—

* Foxe.

'I thank you for your counsel, yet it is not so friendly as I could have wished it to be. True it is, alas! Master Kingston, that death is bitter and life is sweet; therefore I have settled myself, through the strength of God's Holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the fire prepared for me, desiring you and others to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers.'

A.D. 1555.
Feb. 8.

'Well, my Lord,' said Kingston, 'then there is no remedy, and I will take my leave. I thank God that ever I knew you, for God appointed you to call me, being a lost child. I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, and God, by your good instruction, brought me to the forsaking of the same.'

And tells
him he
thanks God
that he has
known
him.

They parted, the tears on both their faces. Other friends were admitted afterwards. The queen's orders were little thought of, for Hooper had won the hearts of the guard on his way from London. In the evening the mayor and aldermen came, with the sheriffs, to shake hands with him. 'It was a sign of their good will,' he said, 'and a proof that they had not forgotten the lessons which he used to teach them.' He begged the sheriffs that there might be 'a quick fire, to make an end shortly;' and for himself he would be as obedient as they could wish.

The citizens
come to
take leave.

'If you think I do amiss in anything,' he said, 'hold up your fingers, and I have done; for I am not come hither as one enforced or compelled to die; I might have had my life, as is well known, with worldly gain, if I would have accounted my doctrine falsehood and heresy.'

CH. 32. In the evening, at his own request he was left alone. He slept undisturbed the early part of
A.D. 1555.
Feb. 9. the night. From the time that he woke till the guard entered, he was on his knees.

The morning was windy and wet. The scene of the execution was an open space opposite the college, near a large elm tree, where Hooper had been accustomed to preach. Several thousand people were collected to see him suffer; some had climbed the tree, and were seated in the storm and rain among the leafless branches. A company of priests were in a room over the college gates, looking out with pity or satisfaction, as God or the devil was in their hearts.

Hooper is taken to the stake. ‘Alas!’ said Hooper, when he was brought out, ‘why be all these people assembled here, and speech is prohibited me?’ He had suffered in prison from sciatica, and was lame, but he limped cheerfully along with a stick, and smiled when he saw the stake. At the foot of it he knelt; and as he began to pray, a box was brought, and placed on a stool before his eyes, which he was told contained his pardon if he would recant.

‘Away with it!’ Hooper only cried; ‘away with it!’

‘Despatch him, then,’ Lord Chandos said, ‘seeing there is no remedy.’

He was undressed to his shirt, in the cold; a pound of gunpowder was tied between his legs, and as much more under either arm; he was fastened with an iron hoop to the stake, and he assisted with his own hands to arrange the faggots round him.

The fire was then brought, but the wood was Ch. 32.
green; the dry straw only kindled, and burning —————
for a few moments was blown away by the wind. A.D. 1555.
A violent flame paralysed the nerves at once, a slow Feb. 9.
one was torture. More faggots were thrown in, The wood
and again lighted, and this time the martyr's face
is wet, and
was singed and scorched; but again the flames
sank, and the hot damp sticks smouldered round
the fire
his legs. He wiped his eyes with his hands, and
will not
cried, 'For God's love, good people, let me have
burn.
more fire!' A third supply of dry fuel was laid
about him, and this time the powder exploded,
but it had been ill-placed, or was not enough.
'Lord Jesu, have mercy on me!' he exclaimed;
'Lord Jesu, receive my spirit!' These were his
last articulate words; but his lips were long
seen to move, and he continued to beat his
breast with his hands. It was not till after an hour of
torture,
three quarters of an hour of torment that he at Hooper
dies.
last expired.

The same day, at the same hour, Rowland Taylor and Sandars are
Taylor was burnt on Aldham Common, in burnt also.
Suffolk. Laurence Sandars had been destroyed
the day before at Coventry, kissing the stake,
and crying 'Welcome the cross of Christ! welcome everlasting life!' The first-fruits of the
Whitehall pageant were gathered. By the side
of the rhetoric of the hysterical dreamer who pre-
sided in that vain melodrama, let me place a few
words addressed by the murdered Bishop of Gloucester to his friends, a week before his sentence.

'The grace of God be with you, amen. I did write unto you of late, and told you what extre- Hooper's
parting letter to his
friends.

CH. 32. mity the parliament had concluded upon concerning religion, suppressing the truth, and setting forth the untruth; intending to cause all men, by extremity, to forswear themselves; and to take again for the head of the Church him that is neither head nor member of it, but a very enemy, as the word of God and all ancient writers do record. And for lack of law and authority they will use force and extremity, which have been the arguments to defend the Pope and Popery since their authority first began in the world. But now is the time of trial, to see whether we fear more God or man. It was an easy thing to hold with Christ whilst the prince and the world held with him; but now the world hateth him, it is the true trial who be his.

A.D. 1555.
February.

'Wherefore in the name, and in the virtue, strength, and power of his Holy Spirit, prepare yourselves in any case to adversity and constancy. Let us not run away when it is most time to fight. Remember, none shall be crowned but such as fight manfully; and he that endureth to the end shall be saved. Ye must now turn your cogitations from the perils you see, and mark the felicity that followeth the peril—either victory in this world of your enemies, or else a surrender of this life to inherit the everlasting kingdom. Beware of beholding too much the felicity or misery of this world; for the consideration and too earnest love or fear of either of them draweth from God. Wherefore think with yourselves as touching the felicity of the world, it is good; but none otherwise than it standeth with the

favour of God; it is to be kept, but yet so far CH. 32.
forth as by keeping it we lose not God. It is —————
good abiding and tarrying still among our friends A.D. 1555.
here, but yet so that we tarry not therewithal February.
in God's displeasure, and hereafter dwell with the
devils in fire everlasting. There is nothing
under God but may be kept, so that God, being
above all things we have, be not lost. Of ad-
versity judge the same. Imprisonment is pain-
ful, but yet liberty upon evil conditions is more
painful. The prisons stink; but yet not so much
as sweet houses, where the fear and true honour
of God lack. I must be alone and solitary; it
is better so to be, and have God with me, than to
be in company with the wicked. Loss of goods is
great, but loss of God's grace and favour is greater.
I am a poor simple creature, and cannot tell how
to answer before such a great sort of noble,
learned, and wise men. It is better to make
answer before the pomp and pride of wicked men,
than to stand naked, in the sight of all heaven
and earth, before the just God at the latter day.
I shall die by the hands of the cruel men; but he
is blessed that loseth this life full of miseries, and
findeth the life of eternal joys. It is pain and
grief to depart from goods and friends; but yet
not so much as to depart from grace and heaven
itself. Wherefore there is neither felicity nor
adversity of this world that can appear to be
great, if it be weighed with the joys or pains in
the world to come.*

* Hooper to his Friends: FOXE, vol. vi.

CH. 32. Of five who had been sentenced, four were thus despatched. Bradford, the fifth, was respited, in February. A.D. 1555. the hope that the example might tell upon him. Six more were waiting their condemnation in Bonner's prisons. The enemies of the Church were to submit or die. So said Gardiner, in the name of the English priesthood, with the passion of a fierce revenge. So said the legate and the queen, in the delirious belief that they were chosen instruments of Providence.

The country is agitated, and Philip, through his confessor, disclaims all share in the executions. So, however, did not say the English lay statesmen. The first and unexpected effect was to produce a difference of opinion in the court itself. Philip, to whom Renard had insisted on the necessity of more moderate measures, found it necessary to clear himself of responsibility; and the day after Hooper suffered, Alphonso a Castro, the king's chaplain, preached a sermon in the royal presence, in which he denounced the execution, and inveighed against the tyranny of the bishops. The Lords of the Council 'talked strangely;' and so deep was the indignation, that the Flemish ambassador again expected Gardiner's destruction. Paget refused to act with him in the council any more, and Philip himself talked more and more of going abroad. Renard, from the tone of his correspondence, believed evidently at this moment that the game of the Church was played out and lost. He wrote to the Emperor to entreat that when the king went he might not himself be left behind; he was held responsible by the people for the queen's

He proposes to leave the country, and Renard begs that he may not be left behind.

misdoings; and a party of the young nobility CH. 32.
had sworn to kill him.*

Among the people the constancy of the martyrs
had called out a burst of admiration. It was ru-
moured that bystanders had endeavoured to throw
themselves into the fire to die at their side.† A
prisoner, on examination before Bonner, was
asked if he thought he could bear the flame.
You may try me, if you will, he said. A candle
was brought, and he held his hand, without
flinching, in the blaze.‡ With such a humour

A.D. 1555.
February.
The burn-
ings do not
produce
the effect
which was
anti-
cipated.

* 'L'évesque de Londres avec les autres évesques assembléez en ce lieu pour l'exécution du statut conclu en dernier Parlement sur le fait de la religion, a fait brusler trois herétiques; l'ung en ce lieu et les deux autres en pays; et sont après pour continuer contre les obstinez: dont les nobles et le peuple herétique murmure et s'altère; selon que l'ay faict entendre au roy par ung billet par escript duquel la copie va avec les pre-sentes; et a la noblesse tousjours désiré d'avoir occasion d'attirer le peuple et le faire joindre à révolte avec elle; et prévoys si Dieu n'y remédie, ou que telle precipita-tion ne se modere, les choses prendront dangereux succès, et signamment les partiaux, contre le chancelier ne perdront ceste commodité de vengeance. . . . Les dictes conseilliers se retirent de negoices. Paget se voyant en la male grace de la royne, et de la pluspart de conseil, se trouve souvent au quartier du-

dict Sieur roy . . . le peuple parle contre la royne estrangement Comme j'entendz que l'on parle pour me faire demeurer, et séjourner par deça après le dé-part du roy, je n'ay peu delaisser de supplier tres humblement vostre majesté me excuser. . . je suys certain l'on me tueroit incontinent après ledict parlement,' &c.—Renard to Charles V.: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. pp. 400—402.

† 'Et a l'on dict que plusieurs . . . se sont voulu volontaire-
ment mettre sur le bûche à costé de ceux que l'on bruloit.'—Ibid.
p. 404.

‡ 'Un bourgeois estant inter-rogué par ledict evesque de Londres se souffriroit bien le feug, respondist qu'il en fist l'experience: et aiant fait apporter une chandelle allumée il meit la main dessus sans la re-tirer ny se mouvoir.'—Renard to Charles V.: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. vi. p. 404. The man's name was Tomkins. Foxe, who

CH. 32. abroad, it seemed to Renard that the Lords had only to give the signal, and the queen and the bishops would be overwhelmed.

A.D. 1555.

February.

Renard ex-

pects an

immediate

revolution.

He expected the movement in the spring. It is singular that precisely, as in the preceding winter, the deliberate intentions of moderate and competent persons were anticipated and defeated by a partial and premature conspiracy. At the end of February a confederate revealed a project for an insurrection, partly religious and partly agrarian.

An ill-con-
sidered
plot is dis-
covered, by
which the
court is
strength-
ened.

Placards were to be issued simultaneously in all parts of the country, declaring that the queen's pregnancy was a delusion, and that she intended to pass upon the nation a supposititious child; the people were, therefore, invited to rise in arms, drive out the Spaniards, revolutionize religion, tear down the enclosures of the commons, and proclaim Courtenay king under the title of Edward VII.* In such a scheme the lords and country gentlemen could bear no part. They could not risk a repetition of the popular rebellions of the late reign, and they resolved to wait the issue of the queen's pregnancy, while they watched over the safety of Elizabeth. The project of the court was now to send her to Flanders, where she was to remain under charge of the Emperor; if possible, she was to be persuaded to go thither of her own accord; if she could not be persuaded,

Elizabeth
is to be
sent to
Flanders,
but she is
protected
by Lord
William
Howard.

tells the story as an illustration of Bonner's brutality, says that the bishop himself held the hand. But Renard's is probably the truer version.

* Renard to Charles V.: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. p. 403.

she would be otherwise removed. Lord William CH. 32.
Howard, her constant guardian, requested per- A.D. 1555.
mission to see and speak with her, and learn her February.
own feelings. He was refused; but he went to
her notwithstanding, and had a long private in-
terview with her; and the court could only talk
bitterly of his treason among themselves, make
propositions to send him to the Tower which
they durst not execute, and devise some other
method of dealing with their difficulty.*

Meantime, Philip, who had pined for freedom Philip
after six weeks' experience of his bride, was grows im-
becoming unmanageably impatient. A paper of patient,
advice and exhortation survives, which was ad- and Renard
dressed on this occasion by the ambassador to his cautions
master, with reflections on the condition of Eng- him,
land, and on the conduct which the king should
pursue.

'Your Majesty must remember,' said Renard,
'the purpose for which you came to England.
The French had secured the Queen of Scotland
for the Dauphin. They had afterwards made an
alliance with the late king, and spared no pains
to secure the support of England. To counteract
their schemes, and to obtain a counteradvantage
in the war, the Emperor, on the accession of the
queen, resolved that your Highness should marry
her. Your Highness, it is true, might wish that
she was more agreeable;† but, on the other hand,

* Renard to Charles V.: requérir plus de civilité en la
Granvelle Papers, vol. iv. pp. 404, 405. Reyne.'—Renard to Philip :
Ibid. p. 394.

* 'Et combien l'on pouvoit

CH. 32. she is infinitely virtuous, and, things being as they are, your Highness, like a magnanimous prince, must remember her condition, and exert yourself, so far as you conveniently may, to assist her in the management of the kingdom.

A.D. 1555.
February.
And sets
before him
the duties
of a hus-
band to his
wife.

'Your Highness must consider that your departure will be misrepresented, your enemies will speak of it as a flight rather than as a necessary absence. The French will be busy with their intrigues, and the queen will not be pleased to lose you. The administration is in confusion, the divisions in the council are more violent than ever. Religion is unsettled; the heretics take advantage of these late barbarous punishments to say, that they are to be converted by fire, because their enemies are unable to convince them by reason or example. The orthodox clergy are still unreformed, and their scandalous conduct accords ill with the offices to which they are called.*

The suc-
cession must
be settled
before he
leaves
England;

'Further, your Highness will do well to weigh the uncertainty of the succession. Should the queen's pregnancy prove a mistake, the heretics will place their hopes in Elizabeth: and here you are in a difficulty whatever be done; for if Elizabeth be set aside, the crown will go to the Queen of Scots; if she succeed, she will restore heresy, and naturally attach herself to France. Some step must be taken about this before you leave

* 'Les gens d'église ne sont | spondent aux offices auxquelz ilz
réformés, il y a plusieurs abuz | sont appellez.'—Renard to Philip:
qui donnent scandale et mau- | *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. p.
vaise impression, et ilz ne re- | 395.

the country; and you must satisfy the queen that CH. 32.
you will assist her in her general difficulties, as a
good lord and husband ought to do.* A.D. 1555.
February.

'The council must be reformed, if possible,
and the number diminished; those who remain
must be invited to renew their oaths to your
Majesty. Regard must be had to the navy, and
especially to the admiral Lord William Howard;
and above all there must be no more of this The perse-
barbarous precipitancy in putting heretics to
death. The people must be won from their
errors by gentleness and by better instruction.
Except in cases of especial scandal, the bishops
must not be permitted to irritate them by cruelty,
and the legate must see that a better example
is set by the clergy themselves.† The debts of
the crown must be attended to; and your Majesty
should endeavour to do something which will
give you popularity with the masses. Before
all things, attend to the succession.

' You cannot set aside the dispositions of King Henry in favour of Elizabeth without danger of rebellion. To recognise her as heir presumptive without providing her with a husband, who can And since Elizabeth cannot be got rid of,

* 'Donner ce contentement à la royne d'avoir intention de asseurer et establir ses affaires et la secourir comme bon Seigneur et mari.'

† 'Que ès choses de la religion l'on ne use de precipitation par punition cruelle, ainsi avec la moderation, et mansuetude requise, et dont l'église a toujours usé; retirant le peuple

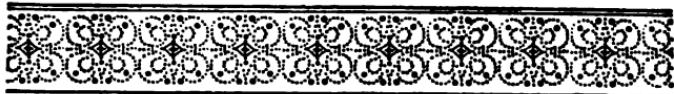
de l'erreur par doctrine et predication, et que si ce n'est un acte scandaleux l'on ne passe oultre en chastoy que puisse alterer le peuple et le déagouter, que la reformation requise pour le bon exemple, soit introduite sur les gens de l'église comme le legat avisera pour le mieulx.' —Renard to Philip: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv. p. 395.

CH. 32. control her, will be perilous to the queen. The mean course between the extremes, will be therefore, for your Highness to bring about her marriage with the Prince of Savoy. It will please the English, provided that her rights of inheritance are not interfered with; and although they will not go to war for our quarrel, they will not in that case be unwilling to assist in expelling the French from Piedmont.

A.D. 1555.
February.
Let her be
married to
the Prince
of Savoy.

'If your Majesty approve, the thing can be done without delay. At all events, before you leave the country, you should see the Princess yourself; give her your advice to be faithful to her sister, and, on your part, promise that you will be her friend, and assist her where you can find opportunity.'





CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE MARTYRS.

THE protests of Renard against the persecu- CH. 33.
tion received no attention.

The inquisition established by the legate was A.D. 1555.
February. not to commence till Easter; but the prisons were already abundantly supplied with persons who had been arrested on various pretexts, and the material was ready in hand to occupy the interval. The four persons who had first suffered had been conspicuous among the leaders of the Reformation; but the bishops were for the most part prudent in their selection of victims, and chose them principally from among the poor and unfriended.

On the 9th of February, a weaver named Tomkins, (the man who had held his hand in the candle), Pigot, a butcher, Knight, a barber, Hunter, an apprentice boy of 19, Lawrence, a priest, and Hawkes, a gentleman, were brought before Bonner in the Consistory at St. Paul's, where they were charged with denying transubstantiation, and were condemned to die. The indignation which had been excited by the first executions caused a delay in carrying the sen-

The perse-
cution con-
tinues.

CH. 33. tence into effect; but as the menace of insurrection died away the wolves came back to their prey. On the 9th of March, two more were condemned also, Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, men of some small property in Essex. To disperse the effect, these eight were scattered about the diocese. Tomkins died at Smithfield on the 16th of March; Causton and Higbed, Pigot and Knight, in different parts of Essex; Hawkes suffered later; Lawrence was burnt at Colchester. The legs of the latter had been crushed by irons in one of Bonner's prisons; he was unable to stand, and was placed at the stake in a chair. 'At his burning, he sitting in the fire, the young children came about and cried, as well as young children could speak, Lord strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise — Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise.'*

Story of
William
Hunter, a
London ap-
prentice.

Hunter's case deserves more particular mention. The London apprentices had been affected deeply by the Reforming preachers. It was to them that the servant of Anne Askew 'made her moan,' and gathered subscriptions for her mistress. William Hunter, who was one of them, had been ordered to attend mass by a priest when it was re-established; he had refused, and his master, fearing that he might be brought into trouble, had sent him home to his family at Brentwood, in Essex.† Another priest, going

* FOXE, vol. vi.

† The story of Hunter was left in writing by his brother, and was printed by Foxe. I have already said that whenever Foxe

prints documents, instead of relating hearsays, I have found him uniformly trustworthy; so far, that is to say, as there are means of testing him.

A.D. 1555.

February.

Eight more
persons are
sentenced
in the dio-
cose of
London.

one day into Brentwood Church, found Hunter CH. 33.
reading the Bible there.

Could he expound Scripture, that he read it A.D. 1555.
thus to himself? the priest asked. He was March.
reading for his comfort, Hunter replied; he did Hunter,
not take on himself to expound. The Bible reading the
taught him how to live, and how to distinguish Bible, is
between right and wrong. warned by
a priest.

It was never merry world, the priest said, since the Bible came forth in English. He saw what Hunter was—he was one of those who disliked the queen's laws, and he and other heretics would broil for it before all was over.

The boy's friends thought it prudent that he should fly to some place where he was not known; but, as soon as he was gone, a Catholic magistrate in the neighbourhood required his father to produce him, on peril of being arrested in his place; and, after a struggle of affection, in which the father offered to shield his son at his own hazard, young Hunter returned and surrendered.

The magistrate sent him to the Bishop of London, who kept him in prison three quarters of a year. When the persecution commenced, he was called up for examination.

Bonner, though a bigot and a ruffian, had, at times, a coarse good-nature in him, and often, in moments of pity, thrust an easy recantation upon a hesitating prisoner. He tried with emphatic anxiety to save this young apprentice. 'If thou wilt recant,' he said to him, 'I will make thee a freeman in the city, and give thee forty pounds in money to set up thy occupation

He is ar-
rested, and
sent to
London.

Bonner en-
deavours
to persuade
him to re-
cant.

CH. 33. withal; or I will make thee steward of mine house, and set thee in office, for I like thee well.'

A.D. 1555.
March.

Hunter thanked him for his kindness; but it could not be, he said; he must stand to the truth: he could not lie, or pretend to believe what he did not believe. Bonner said, and probably with sincere conviction, that if he persisted he would be damned for ever. Hunter said, that God judged more righteously, and justified those whom man unjustly condemned.

He refuses: he is sentenced to death, and sent to his native village to suffer.

He was therefore to die with the rest; and on Saturday, the 23rd of March, he was sent to suffer at his native village. Monday, being the feast of the Annunciation, the execution was postponed till Tuesday. The intervening time he was allowed to spend with his friends 'in the parlour of the Swan Inn.' His father prayed that he might continue to the end in the way that he had begun. His mother said, she was happy to bear a child who could find in his heart to lose his life for Christ's sake. 'Mother,' he answered, 'for my little pain which I shall suffer, which is but a short braid, Christ hath promised me a crown of joy. May you not be glad of that, mother?'

He is taken to the place of execution.

Amidst such words the days past. Tuesday morning the sheriff's son came and embraced him, 'bade him not be afraid,' and 'could speak no more for weeping.' When the sheriff came himself for him, he took his brother's arm and walked calmly to the place of execution, 'at the town's end, where the butts stood.'

His father was at the roadside as he passed.

'God be with thee, son William!' the old man said. 'God be with thee, good father,' the son answered, 'and be of good comfort!' A.D. 1555.
March.

When he was come to the stake, he took one of the faggots, knelt upon it, and prayed for a few moments. The sheriff read the pardon with the conditions. 'I shall not recant,' he said, and walked to the post, to which he was chained.

'Pray for me, good people, while you see me alive,' he said to the crowd.

'Pray for thee!' said the magistrate who had committed him, 'I will no more pray for thee than I will pray for a dog.'

'Son of God,' Hunter exclaimed, 'shine on me!' The sun broke out from behind a cloud and blazed in glory on his face.

The faggots were set on fire.

'Look,' shrieked a priest, 'how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell!'

The martyr had a Prayer-book in his hands, which he cast through the flames to his brother.

'William,' said the brother, 'think on the holy passion of Christ, and be not afraid of death.'

'I am not afraid,' were his last words. 'Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit!'

Ten days later another victim was sacrificed at Carmarthen, whose fate was peculiarly unprovoked and cruel.

Robert Ferrars, who twenty-seven years before carried a faggot with Anthony Dalaber in High-street at Oxford, had been appointed by Somerset Bishop of St. David's. He was a man of large

He prays
at the
stake. A
priest in-
sults him,
and he
dies.

Ch. 33. humanity, justice, and uprightness—neither conspicuous as a theologian nor prominent as a preacher, but remarkable chiefly for good sense and a kindly imaginative tenderness. He had found his diocese infected with the general disorders of the times. The Chapter were indulging themselves to the utmost in questionable pleasures. The Church patronage was made the prey of a nest of Cathedral lawyers, and, in an evil hour for himself, the bishop endeavoured to make crooked things straight.

Ferrars, finding his diocese corrupt, attempts a reformation.

After three years of struggle, his unruly canons were unable to endure him longer, and forwarded to the Duke of Northumberland an elaborate series of complaints against him. He was charged with neglecting his books and his preaching, and spending his time in surveying the lands of the see, and opening mines. He kept no manner of hospitality, it was said, but dined at the same table with his servants; and his talk was ‘not of godliness,’ ‘but of worldly matters, as baking, brewing, enclosing, ploughing, mining, millstones, discharging of tenants, and such like.’

The Chapter of St. David's present a series of accusations against him;

‘To declare his folly in riding’ (these are the literal words of the accusation), he useth a bridle with white studs and snaffle, white Scottish stirrups, white spurs; a Scottish pad, with a little staff of three quarters [of a yard] long.’

‘He said he would go to parliament on foot; and to his friends that dissuaded him, alleging that it was not meet for a man in his place, he answered, I care not for that; it is no sin.

'Having a son, he went before the midwife to the church, presenting the child to the priest; and giving the name Samuel with a solemn interpretation of the name,* appointed two godfathers and two godmothers contrary to the ordinance, making his son a monster and himself a laughing-stock.

'He daily useth whistling of his child, and saith that he understood his whistle when he was but three years old; and being advertised of his friends that men laughed at his folly, he answered, They whistle their horses and dogs: they might also be contented that I whistle my child; and so whistleth him daily, friendly admonition neglected.

'In his visitation, among other his surveys, he surveyed Milford Haven, where he espied a seal-fish tumbling, and he crept down to the rocks by the water side, and continued there whistling by the space of an hour, persuading the company that laughed fast at him, he made the fish to tarry there.

'Speaking of the scarcity of herrings, he laid the fault to the covetousness of fishers, who in time of plenty took so many that they destroyed the breeders.

'Speaking of the alteration of the coin, he wished that what metal soever it was made of, the penny should be in weight worth a penny of the same metal.'

* Wherefore it came to pass that Hannah bare a son, and called his name Samuel, saying, Because I have asked him of the Lord. *1 Samuel i. 20.*

CH. 33.
A.D. 1553.
March.

As, for instance, that
he is fond
of playing
with his
child;

And that
he had said
that, when
want fol-
lows waste,
the waste
is the cause
of want.

CH. 33.

A.D. 1555.

March.

He condescends to defend himself.

Such were the charges against Ferrars, which, notwithstanding, were considered serious enough to require an answer; and the bishop consented to reply.

He dined with his servants, he said, because the hall of the palace was in ruins, and for their comfort he allowed them to eat in his own room. For his hospitality, he appealed to his neighbours; and for his conversation, he said that he suited it to his hearers. He talked of religion to religious men; to men of the world, he talked 'of honest worldly things with godly intent.' He saw no folly in having his horse decently appointed; and as to walking to parliament, it was indifferent to him whether he walked or rode. God had given him a child, after lawful prayer, begotten in honest marriage; he had therefore named him Samuel, and presented him to the minister as a poor member of Christ's Church; it was done openly in the cathedral, without offending any one. The crime of whistling he admitted, 'thinking it better to bring up his son with loving entertainment,' to encourage him to receive afterwards more serious lessons. He had whistled to the seal; and 'such as meant folly might turn it to their purpose.' He had said that the destruction of the fry of fish prevented fish from multiplying, because he believed it to be true.

Answered or unanswered, it is scarcely credible that such accusations should have received attention; but the real offence lay behind, and is indicated in a vague statement that he had ex-

posed himself to a premunire. The exquisite iniquity of the Northumberland administration could not endure a bishop who had opposed the corrupt administration of patronage; and the explanation being held as insufficient, Ferrars was summoned to London and thrown into prison, where Mary's accession found him.

CH. 33.
A.D. 1555.
March.
But the
Duke of
Northum-
berland
commits
him to
prison,
where Gar-
diner finds
him,

Cut off in this way from the opportunities of escape which were so long open to others, the bishop remained in confinement till the opening of the persecution. He was deposed from his see by Gardiner's first commission, as having been married; otherwise, however, Ferrars was unobnoxious politically and personally. Being in prison, he had been incapable of committing any fresh offence against the queen, and might reasonably have been forgotten or passed over. But he had been a bishop, and he was ready caught to the hands of the authorities; and Mary had been compelled unwillingly to release a more conspicuous offender, Miles Coverdale, at the intercession of the King of Denmark. Ferrars was therefore brought before Gardiner on the 4th of February. On the 14th he was sent into Wales to be tried by Morgan, his successor at St. David's, and Constantine, the notary of the diocese, who had been one of his accusers. By these judges, on the 11th of March, he was condemned and degraded; he appealed to the legate, but the legate never listened to the prayer of heretics; the legate's mission was to extirpate them. On Saturday the 30th of March, Ferrars

And sends
him to
Wales to be
tried by his
accusers,
where he is
con-
demned,
and burnt.

CH. 33. was brought to the stake in the market-place at Carmarthen.*

A.D. 1555.

April.

The same
work goes
on else-
where.

Rawlins White, an aged Cardiff fisherman, followed Ferrars. In the course of April, George Marsh, a curate, was burnt at Chester; and on the 24th of April, a man named William Flower, who had been once a monk of Ely, was burnt in Palace-yard, at Westminster. Flower had provoked his own fate. He appeared on Easter day in St. Margaret's Church, while mass was being said; and provoked, as he persuaded himself, by the Holy Spirit, he flew upon the officiating priest, and stabbed him with a dagger in the hand; when, to the horror of pious Catholics, the blood spurted into the chalice, and was mixed with the consecrated elements.†

Sixteen persons had now been put to death, and there was again a pause for the sharp surgery to produce its effects.

Julius III.
dies; Pole
is a candi-
date for the
Papacy,
but fails.

While Mary was destroying the enemies of the Church, Julius the Third had died at the end of March, and Reginald Pole was again a candidate for the vacant Chair. The Courts of Paris and Brussels alike promised him their support, but alike gave their support to another. They flattered his virtues, but they permitted Marcellus Cervino, the Cardinal of St. Cross, to be elected unanimously; and the English legate was told that he must be contented with the event which God had been pleased to send.‡

* FOXX, vol. vii.

† FOXX.

‡ Noailles to the King of France, April 5 and April 17.

Montmorency to Noailles, April 21. Noailles to Montmorency, April 30: *Ambassades*, vol. iv.

An opportunity, however, seemed to offer itself to him of accomplishing a service to Europe.

CH. 33.

A.D. 1555.

April.
Prospect of
peace be-
tween
France and
the Em-
pire,

For thirty-five years the two great Catholic powers had been wrestling with but brief interruption. The advantage to either had been as trifling as the causes of their quarrel were insignificant. Their revenues were anticipated, their credit was exhausted, yet year after year languid armies struggled into collision. Across the Alps in Italy, and along the frontiers of Burgundy and the Low Countries, towns and villages and homesteads were annually sacked, and peasants and their families destroyed—for what it were vain to ask, except it was for some poor shadow of imagined honour. Two mighty princes believed themselves justified in the sight of Heaven in squandering their subjects' treasure and their subjects' blood, because the pride of each forbade him to be the first in volunteering insignificant concessions. France had conquered Savoy and part of Piedmont, and had pushed forward its northern frontier to Marienbourg and Metz: the Emperor held Lombardy, Parma, and Naples, and Navarre was annexed to Spain. The quarrel might have easily been ended by mutual restitution; yet the Peace of Cambray, the Treaty of Nice, and the Peace of Crêpy, lasted only while the combatants were taking breath; and those who would attribute the extravagances of human folly to supernatural influence might imagine that the great discord between the orthodox powers had been permitted to give time for the Reformation to strike its roots into the soil of

CH. 33. Europe. But a war which could be carried on only by loans at sixteen per cent. was necessarily near its conclusion. The apparent recovery of England to the Church revived hopes which the Peace of Passau and the dissolution of the Council of Trent had almost extinguished; and, could a reconciliation be effected at last, and could Philip obtain the disposal of the military strength of England in the interests of the Papacy, it might not even yet be too late to lay the yoke of orthodoxy on the Germans, and, in a Catholic interpretation of the Parable of the Supper, 'compel them to come in.'

A.D. 1555.
April

As a pre-
liminary to
a crusade
in Ger-
many.

France is
willing to
listen to
terms, ex-
pecting
that on the
birth of
Mary's
child Eng-
land will
otherwise
take part
in the war.

Mary, who had heard herself compared to the Virgin, and Pole, who imagined the Prince of Spain to be the counterpart of the Redeemer of mankind, indulged their fancy in large expectations. Philip was the Solomon who was to raise up the temple of the Lord, which the Emperor, who was a man of war, had not been allowed to build: and Francis, at the same time, was not unwilling to listen to proposals. The birth of Mary's child was expected in a few weeks, when England would, as a matter of course, become more decisively Imperialist, and Henry, whose invasion of the Netherlands had failed in the previous summer, was ready now to close the struggle while it could be ended on equal and honourable terms.

A confer-
ence is to
be held in
the Calais
Pale.

A conference was, therefore, agreed upon, in which England was to mediate. A village in the Calais Pale was selected as the place of assembly, and Pole, Gardiner, Paget, and Pembroke were

chosen to arrange the terms of a general peace, CH. 33.
A.D. 1553.
April. with the Bishop of Arras, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and Montmorency. The time pitched upon was that at which, so near as the queen could judge, she would herself bring into the world the offspring which was to be the hope of England and mankind; and the great event should, if possible, precede the first meeting of the plenipotentiaries.

The queen herself commenced her preparations with infinite earnestness, and, as a preliminary votive offering, she resolved to give back to the Church such of the abbey property as remained in the hands of the crown. Her debts were now as high as ever. The Flanders correspondence was repeating the heavy story of loans and bills. Promises to pay were falling due, and there were no resources to meet them, and the Israelite leeches were again fastened on the commonwealth.* Nevertheless, the sacrifice should be made; the more difficult it was, the more favourably it would be received; and, on the 28th of March, she sent for the Lord Treasurer, and announced her intention. 'If he told her that her estate would not bear it, she must reply,' she said, 'that she valued the salvation of her soul beyond all earthly things.'† As soon as parliament could meet and give its sanction, she would restore the firstfruits also to the Holy See. She must work for God as God had worked for her.

The queen prepares her confinement.
She presents her votive offerings.

* Letters to and from Sir Thomas Gresham: *MS. Flanders, Mary*, State Paper Office.

† STRYPE'S *Memorials*.

CH. 33.

A.D. 1555.
April.
And retires
to Hamp-
ton Court.

About the 20th of April she withdrew to Hampton Court for entire quiet. The rockers and the nurses were in readiness, and a cradle stood open to receive the royal infant. Priests and bishops sang Litanies through the London streets; a procession of ecclesiastics in cloth of gold and tissue, marched round Hampton Court Palace, headed by Philip in person; Gardiner walked at his side, while Mary gazed from a window.* Not only was the child assuredly coming, but its sex was decided on, and circulars were drawn and signed both by the king and queen, with blanks only for the month and day, announcing to ministers of state, to ambassadors, and to foreign sovereigns, the birth of a prince.†

Circulars
are pre-
pared and
signed, an-
nouncing
the birth of
a prince.

The pains
are sup-
posed to
have com-
menced.

The bells
ring. The
priests sing
Te Deum.

* MACHYN'S *Diary*.

† These curious records of disappointed expectations remain in large numbers in the State Paper Office. The following is the letter addressed to Pole:—

Philip.—Mary the Queen.

Most Reverend Father in God, our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin, We greet you well: And whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, of His infinite goodness, to add unto the great number of other His benefits bestowed upon us, the gladding of us with the happy deliverance of a prince, for the which we do most humbly thank Him;

knowing your affections to be such towards us as whatsoever shall fortunately succeed unto us, the same cannot be but acceptable unto you also; We have thought good to communicate unto you these happy news of ours, to the intent you may rejoice with us; and praying for us, give God thanks for this his work accordingly. Given under our signet, at our house of Hampton Court, the — of —, the 1st and 2nd year of our and my Lord the King's reign.—MS. *Mary, Domestic*, vol. v. State Paper Office.

The bells were set ringing in all the churches; ^{CH. 33.} *Te Deum* was sung in St. Paul's; priests wrote sermons; bonfires were piled ready for lighting, and tables were laid out in the streets.* The news crossed the Channel to Antwerp, and had grown in the transit. The great bell of the cathedral was rung for the actual birth. The vessels in the river fired salutes. 'The regent sent the English mariners a hundred crowns to drink,' and, 'they made themselves in readiness to show some worthy triumph upon the waters.'†

But the pains passed off without result; and whispers began to be heard, that there was, perhaps, a mistake of a more considerable kind. Mary, however, had no sort of misgiving. She assured her attendants that all was well, and that she felt the motion of her child. The physicians professed to be satisfied, and the priests were kept at work at the Litanies. Up and down the streets they marched, through City and suburb, park and square; torches flared along Cheapside at midnight behind the Holy Sacrament, and five hundred poor men and women from the almshouses, walked two and two, telling their beads in their withered fingers: then all the boys of all the schools were set in motion, and the ushers and the masters came after them; clerks, canons, bishops, mayor, aldermen, officers of guilds.‡ Such marching, such chanting, such praying was never seen or heard before or since in London

But the symptoms pass off again. But the queen protests that she feels her child, and the priests pray, and processions walk day and night in the streets.

* Noailles to Montmorency, | Council: *MS. Flanders, Mary,*
April 30: *Ambassades*, vol. iv. | State Paper Office.

† Sir Thomas Gresham to the | ‡ *MACHYN'S Diary.*

CH. 33. streets. A profane person ran one day out of the crowd, and hung about a priest's neck, where the beads should be, a string of puddings; .
 A.D. 1555.
 May.

where the beads should be, a string of puddings; .
 but they whipped him, and prayed on. Surely, God would hear the cry of his people.

The new Pope dies, and Pole offers himself a third time;

But the cardinals choose Caraffa, his greatest enemy.

The child will not be born, and the conferences at Calais are without result;

In the midst of the suspense the Papal chair fell vacant again. The Pontificate of Marcellus lasted three weeks, and Pole a third time offered himself to the suffrages of the cardinals. The courts were profuse of compliments as before. Noailles presented him with a note from Montmorency, containing assurances of the infinite desire of the King of France for the success of so holy a person.* Philip wrote to Rome in his behalf, and Mary condescended to ask for the support of the French cardinals.† But the fair speeches, as before, were but trifling. The choice fell on Pole's personal enemy, Cardinal Caraffa, who was French alike in heart and brain.

The choice of a Pope, however, would signify little, if only the child could be born; but where was the child? The queen put it off strangely. The Conference could be delayed no longer. It opened without the intended makeweight, and the Court of France was less inclined to make concessions for a peace. The delay began to tell on the Bourse at Antwerp. The Fuggers and the Schertzes drew their purse-strings, and made difficulties in lending more money to the Em-

* Noailles to Montmorency, May 15: *Ambassades*, vol. iv.

† Philip and Mary to Gardiner, Arundel, and Paget: BURNET's *Collectanea*.

peror.* The plenipotentiaries had to separate after a few meetings, having effected nothing, to the especial mortification of Philip and Mary, who looked to the pacification to enable them to cure England of its unruly humours. The Duke of Alva (so rumour insisted) was to bring across the Spanish troops which were in the Low Countries, take possession of London, and force the parliament into submission.† The English were to be punished, for the infinite insolences in which they had indulged towards Philip's retinue, by being compelled, whether they liked it or not, to bestow upon him the crown.‡

But the peace could not be, nor could the child be born; and the impression grew daily that the queen had not been pregnant at all. Mary herself, who had been borne forward to this, the crisis of her fortunes, on a tide of success, now suddenly found her exulting hopes closing over. From confidence she fell into anxiety, from anxiety into fear, from fear into wildness and despondency.

A.D. 1555.
May.
And until
peace is
made, the
queen and
Philip can
not execute
certain de-
signs which
they have
in view for
the better
settlement
of England.

* NOAILLES : *Ambassades*, moyen se saisir des places fortes vol. iv. p. 313.

† 'Et là où ladict paix ou trefve adviendront ledict seigneur (l'Empereur) fera bientort apres repasser en ce royaume le duc d'Alva avecque la plus grande part de sesdites forces pour y fabvoriser les affaires de ce roy.' —NOAILLES, vol. iv. p. 330.

‡ 'Il n'est rien que l'Empereur ne fasse pour venir à la paix, tant il desire avant de retourner en Espagne de faire couronner son filz, roys de ce pays. Et pensera par même

Mary be-
comes
anxious at
the delay
in the birth
of the
child.

moyen se saisir des places fortes d'icelluy et chastier des Angloys d'infinies injures qu'ilz ont faict recepvoir aux Espagnols, mettant grosses garnisons en ceste ville de Londres, et autres lieux, à quoy ces roys et royne proposent. . . . s'y faire obeir absolument aux parlementz, suivant ce qu'ilz n'ont peu faire par cydevant'. —Ibid. p. 332, 333.

In these reports the truth was anticipated but not exceeded. It will be seen that such projects were really formed at a later period.

CH. 33. She vowed that with the restoration of the estates, she would rebuild the abbeys at her own cost. In vain. Her women now understood her condition; she was sick of a mortal disease; but they durst not tell her; and she whose career had been painted out to her by the legate, as especial and supernatural, looked only for supernatural causes of her present state. Throughout May she remained in her apartments waiting—waiting—in passionate restlessness. With stomach swollen, and features shrunk and haggard, she would sit upon the floor, with her knees drawn up to her face, in an agony of doubt; and in mockery of her wretchedness, letters were again strewed about the place by an invisible agency, telling her that she was loathed by her people. She imagined they would rise again in her defence. But if they rose again, it would be to drive her and her husband from the country.*

*She fears
that she
has been
remiss in
her duties,*

After the mysterious quickening on the legate's salutation, she could not doubt that her hopes had been at one time well founded; but for some fault, some error in herself, God had delayed the fulfilment of His promise. And what could that crime be? The accursed thing was still in the realm. She had been raised up, like the judges in Israel, for the extermination of God's enemies; and she had smitten but a few here and there,

* 'Ladicte dame plusieurs fois de le jour demoure longtemps assise à terre, les genoux ausay haultz que la teste. et plus que de coustume, et pour la soulager, fust trouvé à mesme heure en sa court plusieurs lettres semées contre son honneur,' &c.

'Se trouva hier fort malade NOAILLES, vol. iv. p. 342.

when, like the evil spirits, their name was CH. 33.
legion.* She had before sent orders round —————
among the magistrates, to have their eyes upon them. On the 24th of May, when her distraction was at its height, she wrote a circular to quicken the over-languid zeal of the bishops.

A.D. 1555.
May.

'Right Reverend Father in God,' it ran, And she
'We greet you well; and where of late we ad- stir the
dressed our letters unto the justices of the peace, bishops
within every of the counties within this our realm, to move
thereby, amongst other good instructions given faster with
therein for the good order of the country about, the perse-
they are willed to have special regard to such cution.
disordered persons as, forgetting their duty to Almighty God and us, do lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions; whom, if they cannot, by good admonition and fair means reform, they are willed to deliver unto the ordinary, to be by him charitably travelled withal, and removed, if it may be, from their naughty opinions; or else, if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf: understanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the said misordered persons, being, by the justices of the peace, for their contempt and obstinacy, brought to the ordinary, to be used as is aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or, if they be received, are neither so travelled with as Christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice, but are

* 'The queen said she could not be safely and happily delivered, nor could anything succeed prosperously with her, unless all the heretics in prison were burnt *ad unum*.'—BURNET,

CH. 33. suffered to continue in their errors, to the dis-
 ——————honour of Almighty God, and dangerous example
 A.D. 1555. of others; like as we find this matter very strange,
 so have we thought convenient both to signify
 this our knowledge, and therewithal also to admonish
 you to have in this behalf such regard henceforth
 unto the office of a good pastor and bishop,
 as where any such offenders shall be, by the said
 justices of the peace, brought unto you, ye do use
 your good wisdom and discretion in procuring to
 remove them from their errors if it may be, or
 else in proceeding against them, if they continue
 obstinate, according to the order of the laws, so
 as, through your good furtherance, both God's
 glory may be the better advanced, and the com-
 monwealth more quietly governed.*

Fifty persons are put to death in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Canterbury.

Under the fresh impulse of this letter, fifty persons were put to death at the stake in the three ensuing months,—in the diocese of London, under Bonner; in the diocese of Rochester, under Maurice Griffin; in the diocese of Canterbury, where Pole, the archbishop designate, so soon as Cranmer should be despatched, governed through Harpsfeld, the archdeacon, and Thornton, the suffragan bishop of Dover. Of these sacrifices, which were distinguished all of them by a uniformity of quiet heroism in the sufferers, that of Cardmaker, prebendary of Wells, calls most for notice.

* BURNET'S *Collectanea*. This letter is addressed to Bonner, and was taken from Bonner's *Register*; but, from the form, it was evidently a circular. The

Bishop of London had not deserved to be singled out to be especially admonished for want of energy.

The people, whom the cruelty of the Catholic party was re-converting to the Reformation with a rapidity like that produced by the gift of tongues on the day of Pentecost, looked on the martyrs as soldiers are looked at who are called to accomplish, with the sacrifice of their lives, some great service for their country. Card-maker, on his first examination, had turned his back and flinched. But the consciousness of shame, and the example of others, gave him back his courage; he was called up again under the queen's mandate, condemned, and brought out on the 30th of May, to suffer at Smithfield, with an upholsterer named Warne. The sheriffs produced the pardons. Warne, without looking at them, undressed at once, and went to the stake; Cardmaker 'remained long talking;' 'the people in a marvellous dump of sadness, thinking he would recant.' He turned away at last, and knelt, and prayed; but he had still his clothes on; 'there was no semblance of burning;' and the crowd continued nervously agitated, till he rose and threw off his cloak. 'Then, seeing this, contrary to their fearful expectations, as men delivered out of great doubt, they cried out for joy, with so great a shout as hath not been lightly heard a greater. God be praised; the Lord strengthen thee, Cardmaker. The Lord Jesus receive thy spirit.'* Every martyr's trial was a battle; every constant death was a defeat of the common enemy; and the instinctive con-

CH. 33.
A.D. 1555.
May.

Card-maker, who
had flinched on his
first trial,
is brought to Smith-
field,

And seems
to hesitate
when the
pardon is
offered;
but he col-
lects him-
self, and
dies.

* Foxe, vol. vii.

CH. 33. sciousness that truth was asserting itself in suffering, converted the natural emotion of horror into admiring pride.

A.D. 1555.
June.
But for all
this, the
child can
not any
more be
born.

Yet, for the great purpose of the court, the burnt-offerings were ineffectual as the prayers of the priests. The queen was allowed to persuade herself that she had mistaken her time by two months; and to this hope she clung herself, so long as the hope could last: but among all other persons concerned, scarcely one was any longer under a delusion; and the clear-eyed Renard lost no time in laying the position of affairs before his master.

The marriage of Elizabeth and Philibert had hung fire, from the invincible unwillingness on the part of Mary to pardon or in any way recognise her sister;* and as long as there was a hope of a child, she had not perhaps been pressed about it: but it was now absolutely necessary to do something, and violent measures towards the princess were more impossible than ever.

Renard
sends his
opinion to
the Em-
peror of the
queen's
condition,
and the
prospects
of the
country.

'The entire future,' wrote Renard to the Emperor, on the 27th of June, 'turns on the accouchement of the queen; of which, however, there are no signs. If all goes well, the state of feeling in the country will improve. If she is in error, I foresee convulsions and disturbances such as no pen can describe. The succession to the crown is so unfortunately hampered, that it must fall to Elizabeth, and with Elizabeth there

* A letter of Mary's to Philip | veals the disagreement which had
on the subject will be given in | arisen between them about this
the following chapter, which re- | marriage.

will be a religious revolution. The clergy will be put down, the Catholics persecuted, and there will be such revenge for the present proceedings as the world has never seen. I know not whether the king's person is safe; and the scandals and calumnies which the heretics are spreading about the queen are beyond conception. Some say that she has never been *enceinte*; some repeat that there will be a supposititious child, and that there would have been less delay could a child have been found that would answer the purpose.* The looks of men are grown strange and impenetrable; those in whose loyalty I had most dependence I have now most reason to doubt. Nothing is certain, and I am more bewildered than ever at the things which I see going on around me. There is neither government, nor justice, nor order; nothing but audacity and malice.'†

The faint hopes which Renard expressed speedily vanished, and every one but the queen herself not only knew that she had no child at present, but that she never could have a child—that her days were numbered, and that if the Spaniards intended to secure the throne they

The queen's condition becomes known to the country.

* The impression was very generally spread. Noailles mentions it, writing on the 20th of June to the King of France; and Foxe mentions a mysterious attempt of Lord North to obtain a new-born child from its mother, as having happened within his own knowledge. The existence of the belief, however, proves nothing. At such a time it was inevitable, nor was there any

good evidence to connect Lord North, supposing Foxe's story true, with the court. The risk of discovery would have been great, the consequences terrible, and few people have been more incapable than Mary of knowingly doing a wrong thing.

† Renard to the Emperor, June 27: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. vi.

CH. 33. must obtain it by other means than the order of inheritance. Could the war be brought to an end,
 —————
 A.D. 1555.
 June. Mary might live long enough to give her husband an opportunity of attempting violence; but of peace there was no immediate prospect, and it remained for the present to make the most of Elizabeth. Setting her marriage aside, it was doubtful whether the people would permit her longer confinement after the queen's disappointment; and, willingly or unwillingly, Mary must be forced to receive her at court again.

Philip re-solves to make use of Eliza-beth.

The princess was still at Woodstock, where she had remained for a year, under the harsh surveillance of Sir Henry Bedingfield. Lord William Howard's visit may have consoled her with the knowledge that she was not forgotten by the nobility; but her health had suffered from her long imprisonment, and the first symptom of an approaching change in her position was the appearance of the queen's physician to take charge of her.

A fresh effort is made to induce her to confess herself guilty, under promise of pardon;

A last effort was made to betray her into an acknowledgment of guilt. 'A secret friend' entreated her to 'submit herself to the queen's mercy.' Elizabeth saw the snare. She would not ask for mercy, she said, where she had committed no offence; if she was guilty, she desired justice, not mercy; and she knew well she would have found none, could evidence have been found against her: but she thanked God she was in no danger of being proved guilty; she wished she was as safe from secret enemies.

But the plots for despatching her, if they had

ever existed, were laid aside; she was informed CH. 33.
that her presence was required at Hampton Court. A.D. 1555.
The rumour of her intended release spread abroad, July.
and sixty gentlemen, who had once belonged to But the
her suite, met her on the way at Colebrook, in attempt
the hope that they might return to their attend- fails, and
ance: but their coming was premature; she was sent
still treated as a prisoner, and they were ordered to the
off in the queen's name. Court,

On her arrival at Hampton Court, however, Where she
the princess felt that she had recovered her is received
freedom. She was received by Lord William by Lord
Howard. The courtiers hurried to her with their William
congratulations, and Howard dared and provoked Howard
the resentment of the king and queen by making with the
them kneel, and kiss her hand.* Mary could honours of
not bring herself at first to endure an interview. her rank.
The Bishop of Winchester came to her on the queen's behalf, to repeat the advice which had been given to her at Woodstock, and to promise pardon if she would ask for it.

Elizabeth had been resolute when she was alone and friendless, she was not more yielding now. She repeated that she had committed no offence, and therefore required no forgiveness; She is again required, in vain, to make her submission.

* Joanna of Castille, the Emperor's mad mother, dying soon after, masses were said for her with some solemnity at St. Paul's. 'Aux obsèques que la royne commanda estre faictes à Londres, L'admiral d'Angleterre démontra ouvertement avoir quelque ressentiment, de ce qu'il disoit le roy ne luy faisoit si bonne chiere et demonstration si favorable qu'il avoit accusé, disant qu'il scavoit bien pourquoi s'estoit, inferant que ce fust pour ce qu'il avoit faict baisser les mains de Elizabeth aux gentilhommes qui l'avoient visité.'

CH. 33. she had rather lie in prison all her life, than confess when there was nothing to be confessed.

A.D. 1555.

July.

The answer was carried to Mary, and the day after the bishop came again. ‘The queen marvelled,’ he said, ‘that she would so stoutly stand to her innocence; if she called herself innocent, she implied that she had been ‘unjustly imprisoned;’ if she expected her liberty ‘she must tell another tale.’

But the causes which had compelled the court to send for her, forbade them equally to persist in an impotent persecution. They had desired only to tempt her into admissions which they could plead in justification for past or future severities. They had failed, and they gave way.

*She is sent
for to the
queen,*

A week later, on an evening in the beginning of July, Lady Clarence, Mary’s favourite attendant, brought a message, that the queen was expecting her sister in her room. The Princess was led across the garden in the dusk, and introduced by a back staircase into the royal apartments. Almost two years had elapsed since the sisters had last met, when Mary hid the hatred which was in her heart behind a veil of kindness. There was no improvement of feeling, but the necessity of circumstances compelled the form of reconciliation.

Elizabeth dropped on her knees. ‘God preserve your Majesty,’ she said; ‘you will find me as true a subject to your Majesty as any; whatever has been reported of me, you shall not find it otherwise.’

‘You will not confess,’ the queen said; ‘you

stand to your truth: I pray God it may so fall CH. 33.
out.'

'If it does not,' said Elizabeth, 'I desire A.D. 1555.
July.
To whom
she again
protests her
innocence.
neither favour nor pardon at your hands.'

'Well,' Mary bitterly answered, 'you persevere
in your truth stiffly; belike you will not confess
that you have been wrongfully punished?'

'I must not say so, your Majesty,' Elizabeth
replied.

'Belike you will to others?' said the queen.

'No, please your Majesty,' answered the prin-
cess. 'I have borne the burden, and I must bear
it. I pray your Majesty to have a good opinion
of me, and to think me your true subject, not
only from the beginning but while life lasteth.'

The queen did not answer, she muttered only
in Spanish, 'Sabe Dios,' 'God knows;' and Eliza-
beth withdrew.*

It was said that during the interview, Philip was concealed behind a curtain, anxious for a sight of the captive damsel whose favour with the people was such a perplexity to him.

At this time, Elizabeth was beautiful; her haughty features were softened by misfortune; and as it is certain that Philip, when he left England, gave special directions for her good treatment, so it is possible that he may have envied the fortune which he intended for the Prince of Savoy; and the scheme which he afterwards attempted to execute, of making her his own wife on the queen's death, may have then

CH. 33. suggested itself to him as a solution of the English difficulty. The magnificent girl, who was already the idol of the country, must have presented an emphatic contrast with the lean, childless, haggard, forlorn Mary; and he may easily have allowed his fancy to play with a pleasant temptation. If it was so, Philip was far too careless of the queen's feelings to conceal his own. If it was not so, the queen's haunting consciousness of her unattractiveness must have been aggravated by the disappointment of her hopes, and she may have tortured herself with jealousy and suspicion.

The queen
cannot con-
quer her
dislike.
Elizabeth
is set free,
however,
and returns
to her own
house.

At all events, Mary could not overcome her aversion. Elizabeth was set at liberty, but she was not allowed to remain at the court. She returned to Ashridge, even there, to be pursued with petty annoyances. Her first step when she was again at home was to send for her friend Mrs. Ashley; the queen instantly committed Mrs. Ashley to the Fleet, and sent three other officers of her sister's household to the Tower; while a number of gentlemen suspected of being her adherents, who had remained in London beyond their usual time of leaving for the country, were ordered imperiously to their estates.*

But neither impatience nor violence could con-

* Le dict conseil voyant que plusieurs gentilhommes s'assembloient à Londres, et communiquoient par ensemble, qu'ils se tenoient à Londres, contre ce qu'est accoustumé en Angleterre, qu'est que ceux qu'ilz eu

moien ne demeurent à Londres en l'esté, ains au pays, pour la chaleur et maladies ordinaires qu'ilz reignent, et que toutes les dictes gentilhommes sont herétiques, ains esté pour le plus part rebelles, les autres parens et ad-

ceal the fatal change which had passed over CH. 33.
Mary's prospects. Not till the end of July A.D. 1555.
could she part finally from her hopes. Then, at July.
last, the glittering dream was lost for the waking
truth; then at once from the imagination of her-
self as the virgin bride who was to bear a child
for the recovery of a lost world, she was precipi-
tated into the poor certainty that she was a
blighted and a dying woman. Sorrow was heaped
on sorrow; Philip would stay with her no
longer. His presence was required on the Con-
tinent, where his father was about to anticipate
the death which he knew to be near, and, after
forty years of battling with the stormy waters,
to collect himself for the last great change in the
calm of a monastery in Spain.

Mary at length learns her condition, and Philip prepares to leave her.

It was no new intention. For years the Em- Charles V.
peror had been in the habit of snatching intervals Charles V.
of retreat; for years he had made up his mind to intends to
relinquish at some time the labours of life before abdicate,
relinquishing life itself. The vanities of so- Philip's
vereignty had never any particular charm for presence in
Charles V.; he was not a man who cared 'to England
monarchize and kill with looks,' or who could having
feel a pang at parting with the bauble of a crown; ceased to be
and when the wise world cried out in their necessary.
surprise, and strained their fancies for the cause of conduct which seemed so strange to them, they for-

hérens de Elizabetz, leur a faict faire commandement de se retirer chascun en sa maison et se separer; qu'ilz ont prins mal et en ont fait grandes doleances,

en pretendant qu'ilz estoient gens de bien, qu'ilz n'estoient traistres.—Renard to the Em- peror: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. iv.

CH. 33. got that princes who reign to labour, grow weary
 like the peasant of the burden of daily toil.

A.D. 1555.
 July. Many influences combined to induce Charles to delay no longer in putting his resolution in effect.

The Cortes were growing impatient at the prolonged absence both of himself and Philip, and the presence of the Emperor, although in retirement, would give pleasure to the Spanish people. His health was so shattered, that each winter had been long expected to be his last; and although he would not flinch from work as long as he was required at his post, there was nothing to detain Philip any more in England, unless, or until, the succession could be placed on another footing. To continue there the husband of a childless queen, with authority limited to a form, and with no recognised interest beyond the term of his wife's life, was no becoming position for the heir of the throne of Spain, of Naples, the Indies, and the Low Countries.

August. Philip was therefore now going. He concealed his intention till it was betrayed by the departure of one Spanish nobleman after another. The queen became nervous and agitated, and at last he was forced to avow part of the truth. He told her that his father wanted to see him, but that his absence would not be extended beyond a fortnight or three weeks; she should go with him to Dover, and, if she desired, she could wait there for his return.* Her consent was obtained by the mild deceit, and it was considered

He deceives the queen into a belief that he will immediately return.

afterwards that the journey to Dover might be CH. 33.
 too much for her, and the parting might take —————
 place at Greenwich. A.D. 1555.
 August.

On the 3rd of August, the king and queen removed for a few days from Hampton Court to Oatlands; on the way Mary received consolation from a poor man who met her on crutches, and was cured of his lameness by looking on her.*

On the 26th, the royal party came down the river in their barge, attended by the legate; they dined at Westminster on their way to Greenwich, and as rumour had said that Mary was dead, she was carried through the city in an open litter, with the king and the cardinal at her side. To please Philip, or to please the people, Elizabeth was invited to the court before the king's departure; but she was sent by water to prevent a demonstration, while the archers of the guard, who attended on the queen, were in corslet and morion.†

On the 28th, Philip went. Parliament was to sit again in October. It would then be seen whether anything more could be done about the succession. On the consent or refusal of the legislature his future measures would depend. To the queen he left particular instructions, which he afterwards repeated in writing, to show favour to Elizabeth; and doubting how far he could rely upon Mary, he gave a similar charge to such of his own suite as he left behind him.‡ Could he obtain

The king
and queen
leave
Hampton
Court for
Greenwich.

Philip
leaves di-
rections for
the good
treatment
of Eliza-
beth, and
departs.

* MACHYN'S *Diary*.

† NOAILLES, vol. v. pp. 98,
99, 123.

‡ Elle a bonne part en la

grace dudit Seigneur Roy, lequel
par plusieurs lettres qu'il escript
à la royne sa femme la luy re-
commende, comme aussy il a

CH. 33. it, he would take the Princess's crown for himself;
 A.D. 1555. September. should he fail, he might marry her; or
 should this too be impossible, he would win her gratitude, and support her title against the dangerous competition of the Queen of Scots and Dauphiness of France.

On these terms the pair who had been brought together with so much difficulty separated after a little more than a year. The cardinal composed a passionate prayer for the queen's use during her husband's absence.* It is to be hoped that she was spared the sight of a packet of letters soon after' intercepted by the French, in which

faite particulierement et par
 soubz main aux principaux seigneurs Espaignolz qui sont de-
 mourez en ce lieu.— *Ibid.*, p.
 127.

* Domine Jesu Christe, qui
 es verus sponsus animæ meæ,
 verus Rex ac Dominus meus qui
 me ad Regni hujus gubernacula
 singulari tuâ providentiâ ac be-
 nignitate vocatam cum antea es-
 sem derelicta et tanquam mulier
 ab adolescentiâ abjecta, eum vi-
 rum in matrimonium et regni
 societatem expetere voluisti, qui
 plus ceteris imaginem tuam
 quam in sanctitate et justitid
 mundo ostendisti in suis meisque
 actionibus dirigendis expri-
 meret, et expeditum dedisti, cuius
 nunc discessum mœrena defleo—
 queso per illum pretiosissimum
 sanguinem quem pro me sponsâ
 tuâ proque illo et omnibus in arâ
 crucis effudisti, ut hunc meum
 dolorem ita lenias, ita purges, ita
 temperes, ut quoties ille sanctis
 suis consiliis mihi adest, quoties

per litteras que ad salutem
 hujus populi tui pertinent com-
 mendat, toties illum præsentem
 esse, teque unicum consolatorem
 in medio nostro adesse sentiam,
 utque in illo te semper amem at-
 que glorificem. Obsecro, Domine,
 ut in nobis tua imago sic indies
 per tuam gratiam renovetur in
 conspectu populi tui, quem nobis
 gubernandum commisisti, ut cum
 is justitiae tuae severitatem, in
 iis que amiserat dum hi regna-
 rent qui a rectâ fide declinantes
 sanctitatem et justitiam expule-
 runt, jam pridem senserit, que
 nuno per tuam misericordiam
 recuperaverit sub illorum Regno
 quos nunquam a rectâ fide de-
 clinare es passus, cum gratiarum
 actione lœtus intelligat ut uno ore
 tam nos quam populus noster
 Deum patrem per te ejus unicum
 filium in unitate Spiritus glori-
 ficemus, ad nostram ipsorum et
 piorum omnium salutem et con-
 solationem. Amen.— *Epist.*
Reg. Pol. vol. v.

her husband and her husband's countrymen expressed their opinions of the marriage and its consequences.* The truth, however, became known in England, although in a form under which the queen could turn from it as calumny.

Before the meeting of parliament, a letter was published, addressed to the Lords of the Council, by a certain John Bradford.† The writer accounted for his knowledge of the secrets which he had to tell, by saying that he had lived in the household of one of the Spanish noblemen who were in attendance on Philip; that he had learnt the language unknown to his master, and had thus overheard unguarded conversations. He had read letters addressed to Philip, and letters written by him and by his confidential friends; and he was able to say, as a thing heard with his own ears, and seen with his own eyes, that the 'Spaniards minded nothing less than the subversion of the English commonwealth.' In fact, he repeated the rumours of the summer, only more circumstantially, and

CH. 33.
A.D. 1555.
September.
Philip does
not look
with plea-
sure on his
English
marriage.

John Brad-
ford be-
trays the
intentions
of the
Spaniards,

* Il me fauldroit faire ung
merveilleux discours pour vous
rendre compte de tous les propos
qui font dans les dictes lettres.
Je vous diray seulement ce qui
plus touche et regarde le lieu où
vous estes. Et premierement la
royne a tant enchanté et ensorcelé
ce beau jeune prince son mary que
de lui avoir fait croire ung an
entier qu'elle estoit grosse pour
le retenir pres d'elle, dont il se
trouve à present si confus et
fasché qu'il n'a plus délibéré de

retourner habiter ceste terre,
promettant à tous ses serviteurs
que s'il peult estre une fois en
Espaigne qu'il n'en sortira plus
à si mauvaise occasion, &c....—
Le Protonotaire de Noailles à
M. de Noailles: *Ambassades*,
vol. v. p. 136.

† Not the martyr; he had
been despatched by Bonner
among the victims of the sum-
mer; but a person otherwise un-
known.

CH. 33. with fuller details. Under pretence of improving
 the fortifications, Philip intended to obtain com-
 mand of the principal harbours and ports; he
 would lay cannon on the land side, and gradu-
 ally bring in Spanish troops, the queen play-
 ing into his hands; and as soon as peace could
 be made with France, he would have the com-
 mand of the fleet and the sea, and could do what
 he pleased.*

A.D. 1555.
 September.
 And their
 conspir-
 acies
 against
 English
 liberty.

'I saw,' the writer continued, 'letters sent from the Emperor, wherein was contained these privities,—that the king should make his excuse to the queen that he would go to see his father in Flanders, and that immediately he would return —seeing the good simple queen is so jealous over my son. (I term it,' said Bradford, 'as the letter doth.) 'We' said the Emperor, 'shall make her agree unto all our requests before his return, or else keep him exercised in our affairs till we may prevail with the council, who, doubtless, will be won with fair promises and great gifts, politicly placed in time.' In other letters I have read the cause disputed, that the queen is bound by the laws of God to endue her husband in all her goods and possessions, so far as in her lieth; and they think she will do it indeed to the uttermost of her

* 'Ye will say, How could this fellow know their counsel?—I was chamberlain to one of the privy council, and with all diligence gave myself to write and read Spanish, which thing once obtained I kept secret from my master and my fellow-servants,

because I might be trusted in my master's closet or study, where I might read such writing as I saw daily brought into the council chamber.'—John Bradford to the Lords of the Council: STRYPE'S *Memorials of the Reformation*.

power. No man can think evil of the queen, CH. 33.
though she be somewhat moved when such things
are beaten into her head with gentlemen; but A.D. 1555.
September. whether the crown belongs to the queen or the
realm, the Spaniards know not, nor care not,
though the queen, to her damnation, disherit
the right heir apparent, or break her father's
entail, made by the whole consent of the realm,
which neither she nor the realm can justly
alter.*

* Elizabeth, when she came to the throne, refused to admit that she was under any real obligation to Philip. She was entirely right in her refusal. The Spaniards had sworn, if possible, to make away 'with all those which by any means might lay claim to the crown.'

'I call God to record,' Bradford continues, 'I have heard it with mine ears, and seen the said persons with mine eyes, that have said, if ever the king obtain the crown, he would make the Lady Elizabeth safe from ever coming to the same, or any of our cursed nation. For they say, that if they can find the means to keep England in subjection, they would do more with the land than with all the rest of his kingdoms. I speak not of any fool's communication, but of the wisest, and that no mean persons. Yea, and they trust that there shall means be found before that time to despatch the Lady Elizabeth well enough by the help of assured traitors, as they have already in England plenty, and then they

may the more easier destroy the others when she is rid out of the way.

'I speak not this, as some men would take it, to move dissension; for that were the best way for the Spaniards to come to their prey. Such a time they look for, and such a time they say some nobleman hath promised to provide for them.

'God is my witness that my heart will not suffer me for very shame to declare such vile reports as I have heard them speak against the queen, and yet her Grace taketh them for her faithful friends. The Spaniards say, that if they obtain not the crown, they may curse the time that ever the king was married to a wife so unmeet for him by natural course of years; but and if that may be brought to pass that was meant in marriage-making, they shall keep old rich robes for high festival days.

'Alas, for pity! Ye be yet in such good estate that ye may, without loss of any man's life, keep the crown and realm quietly. If ye will hear a fool's counsel,

CH. 33.

A.D. 1555.
September.

The queen
hears bad
news of her
husband's
misdemeanors
abroad.

Struggle as the queen might against such a representation of her husband's feelings towards her, it was true that he had left her with a promise to return; and the weeks went, and he did not come, and no longer spoke of coming. The abdication of the Emperor would keep him from her, at least, till the end of the winter. And news came soon which was harder still to bear; news, that he, whom she had been taught to regard as made in the image of the Saviour,* was unfaithful to his marriage vows.† Bradford had spoken generally of the king's vulgar amours; other accounts convinced her too surely that he was consoling himself for his long purgatory in England, by miscellaneous licentiousness. Philip was gross alike in all his appetites; bacon fat was the favourite food with which he gorged himself to illness;‡ his intrigues were on the same level of indelicacy, and his unhappy wife was forced

keep still the crown to the right succession in your hands, and give it to no foreign princes. Peradventure her Grace thinketh the king will keep her the more company and love her the better, if she give him the crown. Ye will crown him to make him chaste contrary to his nature. They have a saying — 'The baker's daughter is better in her gown than Queen Mary without the crown.' They say, 'Old wives must be cherished for their young fair gifts.' 'Old wives,' they say, 'for fair words will give all that they have.' But how be they used afterwards? Doth the queen think the king

will remain in England with giving him the realm? The council of Spain purposeth to establish other matters; to appoint in England a viceroy with a great army of Spanish soldiers, and let the queen live at her beads like a good antient lady.'— John Bradford to the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Derby, and Pembroke: STEYPE's *Memo-rials*, vol. vi. p. 340, &c.

* Prayer written by Cardinal Pole for Queen Mary: *supra*.

† Noailles to the King of France, October 21: *Ambas-sades*, vol. v.

‡ Noailles to Montmorency, December 5: *Ibid.*

to know that he preferred the society of abandoned women of the lowest class to hers. CH. 33.

The French ambassador describes her as distracted with wretchedness, speaking to no one except the legate. The legate was her only comfort; the legate and the thing which she called religion.

A.D. 1555.
October.
She sinks
despond-
ingly into
gloomy
bigotry.

Deep in the hearts of both queen and cardinal lay the conviction that if she would please God, she must avoid the sin of Saul. Saul had spared the Amalekites, and God had turned his face from him. God had greater enemies in England than the Amalekites. Historians have affected to exonerate Pole from the crime of the Marian persecution; although, without the legate's sanction, not a bishop in England could have raised a finger, not a bishop's court could have been opened to try a single heretic. If not with Pole, with whom did the guilt rest? Gardiner was jointly responsible for the commencement, but after the first executions, Gardiner interfered no further; he died, and the bloody scenes continued. Philip's confessor protested; Philip himself left the country; Renard and Charles were never weary of advising moderation, except towards those who were politically dangerous. Bonner was an instrument whose zeal more than once required the goad; and Mary herself, when she came to the throne, was so little cruel, that she would have spared even Northumberland himself. When the persecution assumed its ferocious aspect, she was exclusively under the direction of the dreamer

Who was
the person
most re-
sponsible
for the
Marian
persecu-
tion?

CH. 33. who believed that he was born for England's regeneration. All evidence concurs to show that, after Philip's departure, Cardinal Pole was the single adviser on whom Mary relied. Is it to be supposed that, in the horrible crusade which thenceforward was the business of her life, the Papal legate, the sovereign director of the ecclesiastical administration of the realm, was not consulted, or, if consulted, that he refused his sanction? But it is not a question of conjecture or probability. From the legate came the first edict for the episcopal inquisition; under the legate every bishop held his judicial commission;

The persecution was more cruel in the diocese of Canterbury than in any other part of England, except London, while, if Smithfield is excepted, the most frightful scenes in the entire frightful period were witnessed under the shadow of his own metropolitan cathedral. His apologists have thrown the blame on his archdeacon and his suffragan: the guilt is not with the instrument, but with the hand which holds it. An admiring biographer* has asserted that the cruelties at Canterbury preceded the cardinal's consecration as archbishop, and the biographer has been copied by Dr. Lingard. The historian and his authority have exceeded the limits of permitted theological misrepresentation. The administration of the see belonged

And was no less severe after Pole became archbishop than before. to Pole as much before his consecration as after it; but it will be seen that eighteen men and women perished at the stake in the town of Canterbury alone,—besides those who were put to death in other parts of the diocese—and five

* PHILLIPS.

were starved to death in the gaol there—after the legate's installation. He was not cruel; but he believed that, in the catalogue of human iniquities, there were none greater than the denial of the Roman Catholic faith, or the rejection of the Roman Bishop's supremacy; and that he himself was chosen by Providence for the re-establishment of both. Mary was driven to madness by the disappointment of the grotesque imaginations with which he had inflated her; and where two such persons were invested by the circumstances of the time with irresponsible power, there is no occasion to look further for the explanation of the dreadful events of the three ensuing years.

The victims of the summer were chiefly undistinguished persons: Cardmaker and Bradford alone were in any way celebrated; and the greater prisoners, the three bishops at Oxford, the court had paused upon—not from mercy—their deaths had been long determined on; but Philip, perhaps, was tender of his person; their execution might occasion disturbances; and he and his suite might be the first objects on which the popular indignation might expend itself. Philip, however, had placed the sea between himself and danger, and if this was the cause of the hesitation, the work could now go forward.

A commission was appointed by Pole in September, consisting of Brookes, Bishop of Gloucester, Holyman, Bishop of Bristol, and White, Bishop of Lincoln, to try Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, for obstinate heresy. The first trial had been irregular; the country was then unre-

CH. 33.
A.D. 1555.
October.

ys 1 he
W.W.

Commissioners are appointed to try Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.

CH. 33. conciled. The sentence which had been passed therefore was treated as non-existent, and the tedious forms of the Papacy continued still to throw a shield round the archbishop.

A.D. 1555.
Sept. 7.
The court
sits in St.
Mary's, and
Cranmer is
brought to
the bar.

On Saturday, the 7th September,* the commissioners took their places under the altar of St. Mary's Church, at Oxford. The Bishop of Gloucester sate as president, Doctors Story and Martin appeared as proctors for the queen, and Cranmer was brought in under the custody of the city guard, in a black gown and leaning on a stick.

'Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury,' cried an officer of the court, 'appear here, and make answer to that which shall be laid to thy charge; that is to say, for blasphemy, incontinency, and heresy; make answer to the Bishop of Gloucester, representing his Holiness the Pope.'

Cranmer
will not ad-
mit the
legate's au-
thority.

The archbishop approached the bar, bent his head and uncovered to Story and Martin, who were present in behalf of the crown, then drew himself up, put on his cap again, and stood fronting Brookes. 'My Lord,' he said, 'I mean no contempt to your person, which I could have honoured as well as any of the others; but I have sworn never to admit the authority of the Bishop of Rome in England, and I must keep my oath.'

The president remonstrated, but without effect, and then proceeded to address the archbishop, who remained covered.†

* FOXE says the 12th; but this is wrong.—See Cranmer's Letter to the Queen: JENKINS, vol. i. p. 369.

† Exhortation of the Bishop of Gloucester to Thomas Cran-

' My Lord, we are come hither at this present CH. 33.
to you, not intruding ourselves by our own Sept. 7.
authority, but sent by commission, as you know, A.D. 1555.
by the Pope's Holiness partly; partly from the The ad-
King's and Queen's most excellent Majesties; not dress of
utterly to your discomfort, but rather to your Brookes,
comfort if you will yourself. For we are come Bishop of
not to judge you immediately, but to put you in Gloucester.
remembrance of that which you have been partly
judged of before, and shall be thoroughly judged
of ere long.

' Neither our coming or commission is to dis-
pute with you, but to examine you in matters
which you have already disputed in, taught, and
written; and of your resolute answers in those
points and others, to make relation to them that
shall give sentence on you. If you, of your part,
be moved to come to a uniformity, then shall
not only we take joy of our examination, but also
they that have sent us. Remember yourself then,
unde excideris, from whence you have fallen. He urges
You have fallen from the unity of your mother,
the Holy Catholic Church, and that by open
schism. You have fallen from the true and
received faith of the same Catholic Church, and
that by open heresy. You have fallen from your
fidelity and promise towards God, in breaking
your orders and vow of chastity, and that by
open apostacy. You have fallen from your
fidelity and promise towards God's Vicar-general,
the Pope, in breaking your oath made to his

He urges
Cranmer to
remember
himself, to
think upon
his crimes,
and repent.

mer : Cotton MSS., *Vespasian*, A. 25. A copy, more rounded and finished, is given by Foxe, in his account of Cranmer's trial; but the latter has the appearance of having been touched up afterwards.

CH. 33. Holiness at your consecration, and that by open perjury. You have fallen from your fidelity and allegiance towards God's magistrate, your prince and sovereign lady the queen, and that by open treason, whereof you are already attainted and convicted. Remember, *unde excideris*, from whence you have fallen, and in what danger you have fallen.

A.D. 1555.
Sept. 7.
Once he
was the
light of
the Church,
and God
blessed
him;

He lent
himself to
the crimes
of Henry
VIII., and
was given
over to
heresy and
schism.

' You were sometime, as I and other poor men, in mean estate. God hath called you from better to better, from higher to higher, and never gave you over till he made you, *legatum natum*, Metropolitan Archbishop, Primate of England. Who was more earnest then in defence of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar than ye were? Then was your candle shining to be a light to all the world, set on high on a pinnacle. But after you began to fall from the unity of the Catholic Church by open schism, and would no longer acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope's Holiness by God's word and ordinance;—and that by occasion, that you, in whose hands then rested the sum of all, being Primate, as was aforesaid, would not, according to your high vocation, stoutly withstand the most ungodly and unlawful request of your prince touching his divorce, as that blessed martyr, St. Thomas of Canterbury, sometime your predecessor, did withstand the unlawful requests of the prince of his time, but would still not only yield and bear with things not to be borne withal, but also set a-flame the fire already kindled—then your perfections diminished; then began you, for your

own part, to fancy unlawful liberty. Then de- CH. 33
cayed your conscience of your former faith, your A.D. 1555.
former promise, the vow of chastity and discipline Sept. 7.
after the order of priesthood; and when good
conscience was once cast off, then followed after, as
St. Paul noteth, a shipwreck in the faith. Then
fell you from the faith, and out of the Catholic
Church, as out of a sure ship, into a sea of dan-
gerous desperation; for out of the Church, to say
with St. Cyprian, there is no hope of salvation at
all. To be brief; when you had forsaken God,
his Spouse, his faith, and fidelity to them both,
then God forsook you; and as the Apostle writeth
of the ingrate philosophers, delivered you up *in*
reprobum sensum, and suffered you to fall from one
inconvenience to another, as from perjury into
schism, from schism into a kind of apostacy, from
apostacy into heresy, from heresy into traitory,
and so, in conclusion, from traitory into the
highest displeasure and worthiest indignation of
your most benign and gracious queen.*

When the bishop ceased, the crown proctors The pro-
rose, and demanded justice against the prisoner in tors for the
the names of the king and queen. crown de-
mand jus-
tice.

'My Lord,' Cranmer replied, 'I do not ac-
knowledge this session of yours, nor yet yourself
my mislawful judge; neither would I have ap-
peared this day before you, but that I was brought
hither; and therefore here I openly renounce you
as my judge, protesting that my meaning is not

* The address concluded with a prolix exhortation to repentance,
which I omit. It may be read in a form sufficiently accurate in
Foxe.

CH. 33. to make any answer as in a lawful judgment, for
 then I would be silent; but only for that I am
 bound in conscience to answer every man of that
 hope which I have in Jesus Christ.'

A.D. 1555.
Sept. 7.
Cranmer kneels,
prays, and
then de-
clares that
he will
never ad-
mit the
Pope's au-
thority.

He then knelt, and turning towards the west with his back to the court and the altar, he said the Lord's Prayer. After which, he rose, repeated the Creed, and said,—

'This I do profess as touching my faith, and make my protestation, which I desire you to note; I will never consent that the Bishop of Rome shall have any jurisdiction in this realm.'

'Mark, Master Cranmer,' interrupted Martin, 'you refuse and deny him by whose laws you do remain in life, being otherwise attainted of high treason, and but a dead man by the laws of the realm.'

'I protest before God I was no traitor,' said the archbishop. 'I will never consent to the Bishop of Rome, for then I should give myself to the devil. I have made an oath to the king, and I must obey the king by God's law. By the Scripture, the king is chief, and no foreign person in his own realm above him. The Pope is contrary to the crown. I cannot obey both, for no man can serve two masters at once. You attribute the keys to the Pope and the sword to the king. I say the king hath both.'

Obedience
to the Pope
is forbid-
den by the
ancient
laws of
England.

Continuing the same argument, the archbishop entered at length into the condition of the law and the history of the Statutes of Provisors and Premunire: he showed that the constitution of the country was emphatically independent, and

he maintained that no English subject could swear obedience to a foreign power without being involved in perjury.

CH. 33.
A.D. 1555.
Sept. 7.

The objection was set aside, and the subject of oaths was an opportunity for a taunt, which the queen's proctors did not overlook. Cranmer had unwillingly accepted the archbishopric when the Act of Appeals was pending, and when the future relations of England with the See of Rome, and the degree of authority which (if any) the Pope was to retain, were uncertain. In taking the usual oaths, therefore, by the advice of lawyers, he made an especial and avowed reservation of his duty to the crown;* and this so-called perjury Martin now flung in his teeth.

'It pleased the King's Highness,' Cranmer replied, 'many and sundry times to talk with me of the matter. I declared, that, if I accepted the office of archbishop, I must receive it at the Pope's hands, which I neither would nor could do, for his Highness was the only supreme governor of this Church in England. Perceiving

Cranmer
defends
himself,
and ex-
plains his
conduct.

* Although the circumstances of the time called properly for an open declaration of this kind on the part of Cranmer, yet every one of his predecessors, from the time of Edward I., must have been inducted with a tacit understanding of the same kind. If a bishop had been prosecuted under the Statutes of Provisors, his oath to the Papacy would have been no more admitted as an excuse by the Plantagenet sovereigns, than the oath of a college Fellow to obey

the statutes of the founder would have saved him from penalties under the House of Hanover had he said mass in his college chapel. Because Cranmer, foreseeing an immediate collision between two powers, which each asserted claims upon him, expressed in words a qualification which was implied in the nature of the case—it was, and is (I regret to be obliged to speak in the present tense), but a shallow sarcasm to taunt him with pre-meditated perjury.

CH. 33. that I could not be brought to acknowledge the authority of the Bishop of Rome, the king called A.D. 1555.
Sept. 7. Doctor Oliver and other civil lawyers, and devised with them how he might bestow it on me, enforcing me nothing against my conscience, who informed him I might do it by way of protestation. I said, I did not acknowledge the Bishop of Rome's authority further than as it agreed with the word of God, and that it might be lawful for me at all times to speak against him; and my protestation did I cause to be enrolled, and there I think it remaineth.'

The queen's proctor's reply. 'Let your protestation, with the rest of your talk, give judgment against you,' answered Martin. '*Hinc prima mali labes*: of that your execrable perjury, and the king's coloured and too shamefully suffered adultery, came heresy and all mischief into the realm.'

The examination of the archbishop proceeds. The special charges were then proceeded with. In reply to a series of questions, the archbishop said, that he had been twice married—once before, and once after he was in orders. In the time of Henry, he had kept his wife secretly, 'affirming that it was better for him to have his own wife, than to do like other priests, having the wives of others;' and he was not ashamed of what he had done.

He admitted his writings upon the Eucharist; he avowed the authorship of the Catechism, of the Articles, and of a book against the Bishop of Winchester; and these books, and his conduct generally as Archbishop of Canterbury, he maintained and defended. His replies were entered

He defends his conduct, and he is cited to answer for himself at Rome.

by a notary, to be transmitted to the Pope, and CH. 33.
for the present the business of the court with him
was over.

A.D. 1555.
Sept. 7.

‘Who can stay him that willingly runneth into perdition?’ said Brookes. ‘Who can save that will be lost? God would have you to be saved, and you refuse it.’

The archbishop was cited to appear at Rome within eighty days to answer to the charges which would there be laid against him; and in order that he might be able to obey the summons he was returned to his cell in Bocardo prison, and kept there in strict confinement.

Ridley and Latimer came next, and over them Ridley and
Latimer follow.

They had been prisoners now for more than two years. What Latimer’s occupation had been for all that time, little remains to show, except

Occupation
of Latimer
during his
imprison-
ment.

three letters:—one, of but a few lines, was to a Mrs. Wilkinson, thanking her for some act of kindness: * another, was a general exhortation to ‘all unfeigned lovers of God’s truth,’ to be constant in their faith: the third, and most noteworthy, was to some one who had an opportunity of escaping from arrest, and probable martyrdom, by a payment of money, and who doubted whether he might lawfully avail himself of the chance: there was no question of recan-

* If the gift of a pot of cold water shall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountiful gifts, when He shall say unto you, ‘I was in prison, and you visited me.’ God grant us all to do and suffer while we be here as may be to His will and pleasure.—Latimer to Mrs. Wilkinson, from Bocardo: LATIMER’S *Remains*, p. 444.

CH. 33. tation; a corrupt official was ready to accept a bribe and ask no questions.

A.D. 1555.
September.

Latimer had not been one of those fanatics who thought it a merit to go in the way of danger and court persecution; but in this present case he shared the misgiving of his correspondent, and did 'highly allow his judgment in that he thought it not lawful to redeem himself from the crown, unless he would exchange glory for shame, and his inheritance for a mess of pottage.'

His letter
to a hesi-
tating con-
fessor.

'We were created,' Latimer said, 'to set forth God's glory all the days of our life, which we, as unthankful sinners, have forgotten to do, as we ought, all our days hitherto; and now God, by affliction, doth offer us good occasion to perform one day of our life, our duty. If any man perceive his faith not to abide the fire, let such an one with weeping buy his liberty until he hath obtained more strength, lest the gospel suffer by him some shameful recantation. Let the dead bury the dead. Do you embrace Christ's cross, and Christ shall embrace you. The peace of God be with you for ever.'*

Writings of
Ridley
during the
same
period.

Ridley's pen had been more busy: he had written a lamentation over the state of England; he had written a farewell letter, taking leave of his friends, and taking leave of life, which, clouded as it was, his sunny nature made it hard to part from; he had written comfort to the afflicted for the gospel, and he had addressed a passionate appeal to the Temporal Lords to save England

* LATIMER'S *Remains*, p. 429.

from the false shepherds who were wasting the flock of Christ. But both he and Latimer had looked death steadily in the face for two years, expecting it every day or hour. It was now come.

A.D. 1555.
September.

On the 30th of September, the three bishops took their seats in the Divinity School. Ridley was led in for trial, and the legate's commission was read, empowering them to try him for the opinions which he had expressed in the disputation at Oxford the year before, and 'elsewhere in the time of perdition.' They were to degrade him from the priesthood if he persisted in his heresies, and deliver him over to the secular arm.

On being first brought before the court, Ridley stood bareheaded. At the names of the cardinal and the Pope, he put on his cap, like Cranmer, declining to acknowledge their authority. But his scruples were treated less respectfully than the archbishop's. He was ordered to take it off, and when he refused, it was removed by a beadle.

Sept. 30.
Ridley is
brought up
for trial,
and, like
Cranmer,
refuses to
admit the
authority of
the court.

He was then charged with having denied transubstantiation, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, and was urged at length to recant. His opinions on the real presence were peculiar. Christ, he said, was not the sacrament, but was really and truly in the sacrament, as the Holy Ghost was with the water at baptism and yet was not the water. The subtlety of the position was perplexing, but the knot was cut by the crucial question, whether, after the consecration of the elements, the substance of bread and wine remained. He was allowed the night to consider his answer, but he left no doubt what that answer

He states
his opinion
of the na-
ture of the
sacrament.

CH. 33. would be. The bishops told him that they were
 —————— not come to condemn him, their province was to
 A.D. 1555.
 Sept. 30. condemn no one, but only to cut off the heretic
 from the Church, for the temporal judge to deal
 with as he should think fit. The cowardly
 sophism had been heard too often. Ridley
 thanked the court ‘for their gentleness,’ ‘being
 the same which Christ had of the high priest:’
 ‘the high priest said it was not lawful for him
 to put any man to death, but committed Christ
 to Pilate; neither would suffer him to absolve
 Christ, though he sought all the means therefore
 that he might.’

Latimer is tried next. Ridley withdrew, and Latimer was then introduced—eighty years old now—dressed in an old threadbare gown of Bristol frieze, a handkerchief on his head with a night-cap over it, and over that again another cap, with two broad flaps buttoned under the chin. A leather belt was round his waist, to which a Testament was attached; his spectacles, without a case, hung from his neck. So stood the greatest man perhaps then living in the world, a prisoner on his trial, waiting to be condemned to death by men professing to be the ministers of God. As it was in the days of the prophets, so it was in the Son of man’s days; as it was in the days of the Son of man, so was it in the Reformers’ days; as it was in the days of the Reformers, so will it be to the end, so long and so far as a class of men are permitted to hold power, who call themselves the commissioned and authoritative teachers of truth. Latimer’s trial was the counterpart of Ridley’s: the charge was

the same, and the result was the same, except that CH. 33.
 the stronger intellect vexed itself less with nice
 distinctions. Bread was bread, said Latimer, and
 wine was wine; there was a change in the sacra- A.D. 1555.
 ment, it was true, but the change was not in the Sept. 30.
 nature, but the dignity. He too was reprieved He says
 for the day. The following morning, the court October 1.
 sat in St. Mary's Church, with the authorities of
 town and university, heads of houses, mayor,
 aldermen, and sheriff. The prisoners were
 brought to the bar. The same questions were And, with
 asked, the same answers were returned, and sen- condemned
 tence was pronounced upon them, as heretics ob- to the
 stinate and incurable. stake.

Execution did not immediately follow. The
 convictions for which they were about to die had
 been adopted by both of them comparatively late
 in life. The legate would not relinquish the Attempts
 hope of bringing them back into the superstition are made to
 in which they had been born, and had lived so move them,
 long; and Soto, a Spanish friar, who was teach- but are
 ing divinity at Oxford in the place of Peter made in
 Martyr, was set to work on them. vain.

But one of them would not see him, and on
 the other he could make no impression. Those
 whom God had cast away, thought Pole, were
 not to be saved by man;* and the 16th of Oc-

* A Rev. P. Soto accepi literas Oxonio datas quibus me certiorem facit quid cum duobus illis haereticis egerit qui jam erant damnati, quorum alter ne loqui quidem cum eo voluit: cum altero est locutus sed nihil profecit, ut facile intelligatur a nemine servari posse quos Deus projecerit. Itaque de illis supplicium est sumptum.—Pole to Philip: *Epist. Reg. Pol. vol. v. p. 47.*

CH. 33. sober was fixed upon as the day on which they were to suffer. Ridley had been removed from Bocardo, and was under the custody of the mayor, a man named Irish, whose wife was a bigoted and fanatical Catholic. On the evening of the 15th there was a supper at the mayor's house, where some members of Ridley's family were permitted to be present. He talked cheerfully of his approaching 'marriage;' his brother-in-law promised to be in attendance, and, if possible, to bring with him his wife, Ridley's sister. Even the hard eyes of Mrs. Irish were softened to tears, as she listened and thought of what was coming. The brother-in-law offered to sit up through the night, but Ridley said there was no occasion; he 'minded to go to bed, and sleep as quietly as ever he did in his life.' In the morning he wrote a letter to the queen. As Bishop of London he had granted renewals of certain leases, on which he had received fines. Bonner had refused to recognise them, and he entreated the queen, for Christ's sake, either that the leases should be allowed, or that some portion of his own confiscated property might be applied to the repayment of the tenants.* The letter was long; by the time it was finished, the sheriff's officers were probably in readiness.

The place selected for the burning was outside the north wall of the town, a short stone's

† Foxe, vol. vii. p. 545. It is to the discredit of Mary that she paid no attention to this appeal, and left Bonner's injustice to be repaired by the first parliament of Elizabeth. *Commons Journals*, i. Elizabeth.

throw from the southward corner of Balliol College, and about the same distance from Bocardo prison, from which Cranmer was intended to witness his friends' sufferings.

CH. 33.
A.D. 1553.
Oct. 16.

Lord Williams of Thame was on the spot by the queen's order; and the city guard were under arms to prevent disturbance. Ridley appeared first, walking between the mayor and one of the aldermen. He was dressed in a furred black gown, 'such as he was wont to wear being bishop,' a furred velvet tippet about his neck, and a velvet cap. He had trimmed his beard, and had washed himself from head to foot; a man evidently nice in his appearance, a gentleman, and liking to be known as such. The way led under the windows of Bocardo, and he looked up; but Soto, the friar, was with the archbishop, making use of the occasion, and Ridley did not see him.* In turning round, however, he saw Latimer coming up behind him in the frieze coat, with the cap and handkerchief—the workday costume unaltered, except that under his cloak, and reaching to his feet, the old man wore a long new shroud.

'Oh! be ye there?' Ridley exclaimed.

'Yea,' Latimer answered. 'Have after as fast as I can follow.'

Ridley ran to him and embraced him. 'Be of good heart, brother,' he said. 'God will either

* The execution, however, was doubtless appointed to take place on that spot, that Cranmer might see that. An old engraving in Foxe's *Martyrs* re-

presents him as on the leads of the Tower while the burning was going forward, looking at it, and praying.

CH. 33. assuage the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it.' They knelt and prayed together, and then
A.D. 1555.
Oct. 16. exchanged a few words in a low voice, which were not overheard.

Lord Williams, the vice-chancellor, and the doctors were seated on a form close to the stake. A sermon was preached, 'a scant one,' 'of scarce a quarter of an hour;' and then Ridley begged that for Christ's sake he might say a few words.

Lord Williams looked to the doctors, one of whom started from his seat, and laid his hand on Ridley's lips—

'Recant,' he said, 'and you may both speak and live.'

'So long as the breath is in my body,' Ridley answered, 'I will never deny my Lord Christ and his known truth. God's will be done in me. I commit our cause,' he said, in a loud voice, turning to the people, 'to Almighty God, who shall indifferently judge all.'

The brief preparations were swiftly made. Ridley gave his gown and tippet to his brother-in-law, and distributed remembrances among those who were nearest to him. To Sir Henry Lee he gave a new groat, to others he gave handkerchiefs, nutmegs, slices of ginger, his watch, and miscellaneous trinkets; 'some plucked off the points of his hose;' 'happy,' it was said, 'was he that might get any rag of him.'

Latimer had nothing to give. He threw off his cloak, stood bolt upright in his shroud, and the friends took their places on either side of the stake.

'O Heavenly Father,' Ridley said, 'I give unto thee most humble thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee even unto death. — A.D. 1555.
Have mercy, O Lord, on this realm of England, Oct. 16.
and deliver the same from all her enemies.'

A chain was passed round their bodies, and fastened with a staple.

A friend brought a bag of powder and hung it round Ridley's neck.

'I will take it to be sent of God,' Ridley said.
'Have you more, for my brother?'

'Yea, sir,' the friend answered. 'Give it him betimes then,' Ridley replied, 'lest ye be too late.'

The fire was then brought. To the last moment, Ridley was distressed about the leases, and, bound as he was, he entreated Lord Williams to intercede with the queen about them.

'I will remember your suit,' Lord Williams answered. The lighted torch was laid to the faggots. 'Be of good comfort, Master Ridley,' Latimer cried at the crackling of the flames. 'Play the man: we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out.'

'In manus tuas, Domine, commendō spiritum meum,'
cried Ridley. '*Domine, recipe spiritum meum.*'

'O Father of Heaven,' said Latimer, on the other side, 'receive my soul.'

Latimer died first: as the flame blazed up about him, he bathed his hands in it, and stroked his face. The powder exploded and he became instantly senseless.

His companion was less fortunate. The

CH. 33. sticks had been piled too thickly over the gorse
 that was under them; the fire smouldered round
 his legs, and the sensation of suffering was un-
 usually protracted. ‘I cannot burn,’ he called;
 ‘Lord, have mercy on me; let the fire come to
 me; I cannot burn.’ His brother-in-law with
 awkward kindness threw on more wood, which
 only kept down the flame. At last some one
 lifted the pile with ‘a bill,’ and let in the air;
 the red tongues of fire shot up fiercely, Ridley
 wrested himself into the middle of them, and the
 powder did its work.

A.D. 1555.
 Oct. 16.

The horrible sight worked upon the beholders as it has worked since, and will work for ever, while the English nation survives—being notwithstanding, as in justice to those who caused these accursed cruelties, must never be forgotten—a legitimate fruit of the superstition, that, in the eyes of the Maker of the world, an error of belief is the greatest of crimes; that while for all other sins there is forgiveness, a mistake in the intellectual intricacies of speculative opinion will be punished not with the brief agony of a painful death, but with tortures to which there shall be no end.

The treat-
 ment of the
 Protestants
 who were
 left in pri-
 son was
 worse
 than the
 treatment
 of those
 who were
 burnt.

But martyrdom was often but a relief from more barbarous atrocities. In the sad winter months which were approaching, the poor men and women, who, untried and uncondemned, were crowded into the bishops’ prisons, experienced such miseries as the very dogs could scarcely suffer and survive. They were beaten, they were starved, they were flung into dark, fetid

dens, where rotting straw was their bed, their feet were fettered in the stocks, and their clothes were their only covering, while the wretches who died in their misery were flung out into the fields where none might bury them.*

A.D. 1555.
October.

Lollard's Tower and Bonner's coal-house were the chief scenes of barbarity. Yet there were times when even Bonner loathed his work. He complained that he was troubled with matters that were none of his; the bishops in other

* *FOXE*, vols. vii. viii., *passim*, especially vol. vii. p. 605. Philpot's Petition, *Ibid.* p. 682; and an Account of the Prisons at Canterbury, vol. viii. p. 255. At Canterbury, after Pole became archbishop, his archdeacon, Harpsfeld, had fifteen prisoners confined together, of whom five were starved to death; the other ten were burnt. But before they suffered, and while one of those who died of hunger still survived, they left on record the following account of their treatment, and threw it out of a window of the castle:—

'Be it known to all men that shall read, or hear read, these our letters, that we, the poor prisoners of the castle of Canterbury, for God's truth, are kept and lie in cold irons, and our keeper will not suffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring in anything—as bread, butter, cheese, or any other food—the said keeper will charge them that so bring us anything (except money or raiment), to carry it thence again; or else, if he do receive

any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himself, and he and his servants do spend it; so that we have nothing thereof; and thus the keeper keepeth away our victuals from us; insomuch that there are four of us prisoners there for God's truth famished already, and thus it is his mind to famish us all. And we think he is appointed thereto by the bishops and priests, and also of the justices, so to famish us; and not only us of the said castle, but also all other prisoners in other prisons for the like cause to be also famished. Notwithstanding, we write not these our letters to that intent we might not afford to be famished for the Lord Jesus' sake, but for this cause and intent, that they having no law so to famish us in prison, should not do it privily, but that the murderers' hearts should be openly known to all the world, that all men may know of what church they are, and who is their father.'—*FOXE*, vol. viii. p. 255.

CH. 33. parts of England thrust upon his hands offenders whom they durst not pardon and would not themselves put to death; and, being in London, he was himself under the eyes of the court, and could not evade the work.* Against Bonner, however, the world's voice rose the loudest.

A.D. 1555.
October.
The work
is cast
chiefly
upon
Bonner,

His brutality was notorious and unquestionable, and a published letter was addressed to him by a lady, in which he was called 'the common cut-throat and general slaughter-slave to all the bishops in England.'† 'I am credibly informed,'

To whom a lady writes a letter,
said this person to him, 'that your Lordship doth believe, and hath in secret said, there is no hell.

Telling him the effect of the persecution in the country.
The very Papists themselves begin now to abhor your bloodthirstiness, and speak shame of your tyranny. Every child can call you by name, and say, 'Bloody Bonner is Bishop of London!' and every man hath it as perfect upon his fingers' ends as his Paternoster, how many you for your part have burned with fire and famished in prison this three-quarters of a year. Though your Lordship believe neither heaven nor hell, neither God nor devil, yet if your Lordship love your own honesty, you were best to surcease from this cruel burning and murdering. Say not but a woman gave you warning. As for the obtaining your Popish purpose in suppressing of the truth, I put you out of doubt, you shall not obtain it so long as you go this way to work

* See especially his conversation with Philpot: *Foxe*, vol. vii. p. 611.

† Godly Letter addressed to Bonner: *Ibid.*, p. 712.

as you do. You have lost the hearts of twenty thousand that were rank Papists within this twelve months.'

A.D. 1555.
October.

In the last words lay the heart of the whole matter. The martyrs alone broke the spell of orthodoxy, and made the establishment of the Reformation possible.

In the midst of such scenes the new parliament was about to meet. Money was wanted for the crown debts, and the queen was infatuated enough still to meditate schemes for altering the succession, or, at least, for obtaining the consent of the legislature to Philip's coronation, that she might bribe him back to her side.*

As the opening of the session approached, Elizabeth was sent again from the court to be out of sight and out of reach of intrigue; and Mary had the mortification of knowing that her sister's passage through London was a triumphal procession. The public enthusiasm became so marked at last that the princess was obliged to ride forward with a few servants, leaving the gentlemen who were her escort to keep back the people. Fresh alarms, too, had risen on the side of the Papacy. Cardinal Caraffa, Paul IV. as he was now named, on assuming the tiara, had put out a bull among his first acts, reasserting the decision

Elizabeth
is sent
away from
the court.

The new
Pope
threatens
to require
the restora-
tion of the
Church
lands.

* Pour le faire plutost retourner elle fera toutes choses incredibles en ce dict parlement en faveur dudit Sieur L'on dict que l'occasion pour la quelle le dict parlement a esté assemble, ne tend à autre fin que pour faire s'il est possible tumber le gouvernement absolu de ce royaume entre les mains de ce roy.—Noailles to the King of France, October 21: *Ambassades*, vol. v.

CH. 33. of the canons on the sanctity of the estates of the Church, and threatening laymen who presumed to withhold such property from its lawful owners with anathemas. In a conversation with Lord Montague, the English ambassador at Rome, he had used language far from reassuring on the concessions of his predecessor; and some violent demonstration would undoubtedly have been made in parliament, had not Paul been persuaded to except England especially from the general edict.

The Pope takes part with the French in the European war,

Which threatens to draw England into war with him.

Even then the irritation was not allayed, and a whole train of sorrows was in store for Mary from the violent character of Caraffa. Political Popes have always been a disturbing element in the European system. Paul IV., elected by French influence, showed his gratitude by plunging into the quarrel between France and the Empire. He imprisoned Imperialist cardinals in St. Angelo; he persecuted the Colonnas on account of their Imperialist tendencies, levelled their fortresses, and seized their lands. The Cardinal of Lorraine hastened to Rome to conclude an alliance offensive and defensive on behalf of France; and the queen, distracted between her religion and her duty as a wife, saw Philip on the point of being drawn into parricidal hostility with his and her spiritual father. Nay, she herself might be involved in the same calamity; for so bitter was the English humour that the Liberal party in the council were inclined to take part in the war, if they would have the Pope for an enemy; and

A.D. 1555.
October.

Philip would be too happy in their support to look too curiously to the motives of it.*

A.D. 1555.
October.

A calamity of a more real kind was also approaching Mary. She was on the point of losing the only able minister on whose attachment she could rely. Gardiner's career on earth was about to end.

On the 6th of October, Noailles described the Bishop of Winchester as sinking rapidly, and certain to die before Christmas,† yet still eager and energetic, perfectly aware of his condition, yet determined to work till the last.

Noailles himself had two hours' conversation with him on business: when he took his leave, the chancellor conducted him through the crowded antechamber to the door, leaning heavily on his arm. 'The people thought he was dead,' he said, 'but there was some life in him yet.'

Notwithstanding his condition, he roused himself for the meeting of parliament on the 21st; he even spoke at the opening, and he was in his place in the House of Lords on the second day of the session; but his remaining strength broke down immediately after, and he died at Whitehall Palace on the 13th of November. The Protestants, who believed that he was the author of the persecution, expected that it would cease

He rouses
himself for
the opening
of parlia-
ment, but
breaks
down im-
mediately
after, and
dies.

* Ce soit ung argument plus grand que tout aultre pour faire entrer ceulx oy à la guerre ouverte: estant ceste nation comme ung chascung seoit fort ennemie de sadict Sainctite.—Noailles to Montmorency: *Am-bassades*, vol. v. p. 188.

† Same to the same.—Ibid. p. 150.

CH. 33. with his end; they were deceived in their hopes,
 —————
 A.D. 1555.
 November. for their sufferings continued unabated. In their opinion of his conduct they were right, yet right but partially.

Character
and policy
of Gar-
diner.

Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was the pupil of Wolsey, and had inherited undiminished the pride of the ecclesiastical order. If he went with Henry in his separation from the Papacy, he intended that the English Church should retain, notwithstanding, unimpaired authority and undiminished privileges. The humiliations heaped upon the clergy by the king had not discouraged him, for the Catholic doctrine was maintained unshaken, and so long as the priesthood was regarded as a peculiar order, gifted with supernatural powers, so long as the sacraments were held essential conditions of salvation, and the priesthood alone could administer them, he could feel assured that, sooner or later, their temporal position would be restored to them.

Gardiner
was, un-
doubtedly,
responsible
for the
commence-
ment of the
persecu-
tion.

Thus, while loyal to the royal supremacy, the Bishop of Winchester had hated heresy, and hated all who protected heresy with a deadly hatred. He passed the Six Articles Bill; he destroyed Cromwell; he laboured with all his might to destroy Cranmer; and, at length, when Henry was about to die, he lent himself, though too prudently to be detected, to the schemes of Surrey and the Catholics upon the regency. The failure of those schemes, and the five years of arbitrary imprisonment under Edward, had not softened feelings already more than violent. He returned to power exasperated by personal in-

jury; and justified, as he might easily believe CH. 33.
himself to be, in his opinion of the tendencies of —————
heresy, by the scandals of the Protestant admini- A.D. 1555.
stration, he obtained, by unremitting assiduity November.
the re-enactment of the persecuting laws, which
he himself launched into operation with im-
perious cruelty.

Yet there was something in Gardiner's character which was not wholly execrable. For thirty years he worked unweariedly in the service of the public; his judgment as a member of council was generally excellent; and Somerset, had he listened to his remonstrances, might have saved both his life and credit. He was vindictive, ruthless, treacherous, but his courage was indomitable. He resisted Cromwell till it became a question which of the two should die, and the lot was as likely to have fallen to him as to his rival. He would have murdered Elizabeth with the forms of law or without, but Elizabeth was the hope of all that he most detested. He was no dreamer, no high-flown enthusiast, but he was a man of clear eye and hard heart, who had a purpose in his life which he pursued with unflagging energy. Living as he did in revolutionary times, his hand was never slow to strike when an enemy was in his power; yet in general when Gardiner struck, he stooped, like the eagle, at the nobler game, leaving the linen-drappers and apprentices to 'the mousing owls.' His demerits were vast; his merits were small, yet something.

And his policy was distinct and intelligible.

'Well, well,' as some one said, winding up his

CH. 33. epitaph, 'Mortuus est, et sepultus est, et descendit ad inferos; let us say no more about him.'*

A.D. 1555.
October.

A subsidy
is asked for
in parlia-
ment.

The queen's
expendi-
ture has
been large,
and the
crown
debts are
still large.

To return to the parliament. On the 23rd of October, a bull of Paul IV., confirming the dispensation of Julius, was read in the House of Commons.† On the 29th the crown debts were alleged as a reason for demanding a subsidy.

The queen had been prevented from indulging her desire for a standing army. The waste and peculation of the late reign had been put an end to; and the embarrassments of the treasury were not of her creation. Nevertheless the change in social habits, and the alteration in the value of money, had prevented the reduction of the expenditure from being carried to the extent which had been contemplated; the marriage had been in many ways costly, and large sums had been spent in restoring plundered church plate. So great had been the difficulties of the treasury, that, although fresh loans had been contracted with the Jews, the wages of the household were again two years in arrear.

Parliament showed no disposition to be illiberal; they only desired to be satisfied that if they gave money it would be applied to the purpose for which it was demanded. The Subsidy Bill, when first introduced, was opposed in the House of Commons on the ground that the queen would give the keys of the treasury to her husband; and after a debate, a minority of a

* Special Grace appointed to have been said at York on the Accession of Elizabeth.—*Tanner MSS.*, Bodleian Library.

† *Commons Journals*: 2nd and 3rd Philip and Mary.

hundred voted for refusing the grant.* The general spirit of the Houses, however, was, on the whole, more generous. Two fifteenths were voted in addition to the subsidy, which the queen, on her side, was able to decline with thanks.† The money question was settled quietly, and the business of the session proceeded.

If her subjects were indifferent to their souls, Mary was anxious about her own. On the 11th of November, a bill was read a first time in the House of Lords, 'whereby the King's and Queen's Majesties surrendered, and gave into the hands of the Pope's Holiness, the first-fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices.' The reception of the measure can be traced in the changes of form which it experienced. The payment of annates to the See of Rome was a grievance, both among clergy and laity, of very ancient standing. The clergy, though willing to be relieved from paying first-fruits to the crown, were not so loyal to the successors of St. Peter as to desire to restore their contributions into the old channel; while the laity, who from immemorial time had objected on principle to the payment of tribute to a foreign sovereign, were now, through their possession of the abbey lands and the impropriation of benefices, immediately interested parties.

* *Commons Journals*, 2nd and 3rd Philip and Mary.—Noailles to the Constable, October 31.

† *Commons Journ.* Noailles says that the queen demanded the fifteenths, and that the Com-

mons refused to grant them. The account in the *Journals* is confirmed by a letter of Lord Talbot to the Earl of Shrewsbury.—*Lodge's Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 207.

A.D. 1554.
October.
The Commons will give money, if they can be assured that the queen will not give it to Philip.

A bill is brought in for the surrender of first-fruits to the Pope.

CH. 33. On the 19th of November fifty members of
 A.D. 1555.
 October. The queen has an interview with a deputation of the Commons. On the queen, to hear her own resolutions, and to listen to an admonition from the cardinal.* On the 20th a second bill was introduced, 'whereby the King's and Queen's Majesties surrendered and gave the first-fruits and tenths into the hands of the laity.'† The crown would not receive annates longer in any form; and as laymen liable to the payment of them could not conveniently be required to pay tribute to Rome, it was left to their consciences to determine whether they would follow the queen's example in a voluntary surrender.

The Lords will allow the queen to relinquish the first-fruits, but the Pope's name is struck out. Even then, however, the original bill could not pass so long as the Pope's name was in it, or so long as the Pope was interested in it. As it left the Lords, it was simply a surrender, on behalf of the crown, of all claims whatever upon first-fruits of benefices, whether from clergy or laity. The tenths were to continue to be paid. Lay impro priators should pay them to the crown. The clergy should pay them to the legate, by whom they were to be applied to the discharge of the monastic pensions, from which the crown was to be relieved. The crown at the same time set a precedent of sacrifice by placing in the legate's

* Mr. Speaker declared the queen's pleasure to be spoken yesterday, for to depart with the first-fruits and tenths; and my Lord Cardinal spake for the tithes and impropriations of benefits to be spiritual. — *Commons Journals*, November 20: 2nd and 3rd Philip and Mary.

† *Lords Journals*.

hands unreservedly every one of its own im- CH. 33.
priations.*

In this form the measure went down to the Commons, where it encountered fresh and violent opposition. To demand a subsidy in one week, and in the next to demand permission to sacrifice a sixth part of the ordinary revenue, was inconsistent and irrational. The laity had no ambition to take upon themselves the burdens of the clergy. On the 27th there was a long discussion;† on the 3rd of December the bill was carried, but with an adverse minority of a hundred and twenty-six, against a majority of a hundred and ninety-three.‡

A.D. 1555.
December.
The bill is
opposed in
the Lower
House, and
passes with
difficulty.

* 2nd and 3rd Philip and Mary, cap. iv.

† *Commons Journals.*

‡ Ibid. The temper of the opposition may be gathered from the language of a pamphlet which appeared on the accession of Elizabeth.

The writer describes the clergy as ‘lads of circumspection, and verily *fili: hujus saceruli.*’ He complains of their avarice in inducing the queen, ‘at one chop, to give away fifty thousand pounds and better yearly from the inheritance of her crown unto them, and many a thousand after, unto those idle hypocrites besides.’

He then goes on:—

‘And yet this great profusion of their prince did so smally serve their hungry guts, like starven tikes that were never content with more than enough; at all their collations, assemblies, and sermons, they never last yell-

ing and yelping in pursuit of their prey, Restore! Restore! These devout deacons nothing regarded how some for long service and travail abroad, while they sate at home—some for shedding his blood in defence of his prince’s cause and country, while they with safety, all careless in their cabins, in luxe and lewdness, did sail in a sure port—some selling his antient patrimony for purchase of these lands, while they must have all by gift a God’s name—they nothing regarding, I say, what injury to thousands, what undoing to most men, what danger of uproar and tumult throughout the whole realm, and what a weakening to the State should thereby arise; with none of these matters were they moved a whit, but still held on their cry, Restore! Restore!

‘And that ye may be sure they meant nothing more than

CH. 33. Language had been heard in both Houses
 A.D. 1555. December. The queen is displeased with the conduct of parliament during the debates, of unusual violence. Bradford's letter on the succession was circulating freely among the members, and the parliament from which the queen anticipated so much for her husband's interests proved the most intractable with which she had had to deal.* After the difficulty which she had experienced with the first-fruits, she durst not so much as introduce the question of the crown.† She attempted a bill for the restoration of the forfeited lands of the Howards, but it was lost.‡ The Duchess of Suffolk,§ with several other persons

how to have all, and that with all haste; after that their Pope, this seditious Paul IV., that now is, had sent hither his bulls and his thunderbolts for that cause, and other (and yet little restored, because the world, indeed, would not be so faced out of their livelihood) sundry of our prelates, like hardy champions, stacke not a whit themselves to thrust lords out of their lands, and picked quarrels to their lawful possessions. Well. Let nobility consider the case as they list; but, as some think, if the clergy come to be masters again, they will teach them a school point. Christ taught the young man that perfection was in *vade, vende, et da, not in mane, acquire, accumula.*' — Grace to be said at the Accession of Elizabeth: *Tanner MSS.*, Bodleian Library.

* NOAILLES.

† Michele, the Venetian ambassador, in his curious but most

inaccurate account of England during this reign, states that the queen had it in her power to cut off Elizabeth from the succession, but that she was prevented from doing it by Philip. Michele's information suffered from the policy of Venice. Venice held aloof from the complications of the rest of Europe, and her representatives were punished by exclusion from secrets of State. The letters of Noailles might be suspected, but the correspondence of Renard with Charles V. leaves no doubt whatever either as to the views of the Spaniards towards Elizabeth, of their designs on the crown, or of the causes by which they were baffled.

‡ Noailles to the King of France, December 16.

§ The witty Katherine Brandon, widow of Henry VIII's Charles Brandon, married to Richard Bertie. She was a lady of advanced opinions, between whom and the Bishop of

of rank, had lately joined the refugees on the Continent; she attempted to carry a measure for the confiscation of their property, and failed again.* A sharp blow was dealt also at the recovered privileges of ecclesiastics. A man named Benet Smith, who had been implicated in a charge of murder, and was escaping under plea of clergy, was delivered by a special act into the hands of justice.† The leaven of the heretical spirit was still unsubdued. The queen dissolved her fourth parliament on the 9th of September; and several gentlemen who had spoken out with unpalatable freedom were seized and sent to the Tower. She was unwise, thought Noailles; such arbitrary acts were only making her day by day more detested, and, should opportunity offer, would bring her to utter destruction.

A.D. 1555.
December.
She tries to
pass two
other mea-
sures,
without
success.

Parliament
is dis-
solved, and
several per-
sons, who
had spoken
too freely,
are sent to
the Tower.

Unwise she was indeed, and most unhappy. When the poor results of the session became known to Philip, he sent orders that such of his Spanish suite as he had left behind him should no longer

Winchester there were some passages-at-arms. She dressed a dog in a rochet on one occasion, and called it Bishop Gardiner.

Gardiner himself said that he was once at a party at the Duke of Suffolk's, and it was a question who should take the Duchess down to dinner. She wanted to go with her husband; but as that could not be, 'My lady,' said Gardiner, 'taking me by the hand, for that my lord would not take her himself, said that, forasmuch as she could not sit down

with my lord whom she loved best, she had chosen me whom she loved worst.'—HOLINSHED.

* Et de mesme fust rejetté audict parlement à la grande confusion de ladict dame ungaultre bill par lequel elle vouloit confisquer les personnes et biens de ceulx qui sont transfuges de ce royaume depuis son advenement à la couronne.—Noailles to the King of France, December 16: *Ambassades*, vol. v.

† 2nd and 3rd Philip and Mary, cap. 17.

CH. 33. afflict themselves with remaining in a country
 A.D. 1555. which they abhorred; he summoned them all to
 December. come to him except Alphonso, his confessor.
 Philip re-
 calls all his suite from England. 'The queen wept and remonstrated; more piteous lamentations were never heard from woman.'

The misery 'How,' exclaimed a brother of Noailles,* 'is she repaid now for having quarrelled with her subjects, and set aside her father's will! The misery which she suffers in her husband's absence can-

not so change her but that she will risk crown and life to establish him in the sovereignty, and thus recal him to her side. Nevertheless, she will fail, and he will not come. He is weary of having laboured so long in a soil so barren; while she who feels old age stealing so fast upon her, cannot endure to lose what she has bought so dearly.'

Nothing now was left for Mary but to make such use as she was able of the few years of life which were to remain to her. If Elizabeth, the hated Anne Boleyn's hated daughter, was to succeed her on the throne, and there was no

She exerts herself in the restoration of the Church. remedy, it was for her to work so vigorously in the restoration of the Church that her labours could not afterwards be all undone. At her own

expense she began to rebuild and refound the religious houses. The Grey Friars were replaced at Greenwich, the Carthusians at Sheene, the Brigittines at Sion. The house of the Knights of St. John in London was restored; the Dean and Chapter of Westminster gave way to Abbot

* François de Noailles to Madame de Roye: *Ambassades*, vol. v.

Feckenham and a college of monks. Yet these Ch. 33. touching efforts might soften her sorrow but — could not remove it. Philip was more anxious ^{A.D. 1555.} December. than ever about the marriage of Elizabeth; and as Mary could not overcome her unwillingness to sanction by act of hers Elizabeth's pretensions, Philip wrote her cruel letters, and ^{Philip writes letters which do not comfort her.} set his confessor to lecture her upon her duties as a wife.* These letters she chiefly spent her time in answering, shut up almost alone, trusting no one but Pole, and seeing no one but her

* Among the surviving memorials of Mary, none is more affecting than a rough copy of an answer to one of these epistles, which is preserved in the Cotton Library. It is painfully scrawled, and covered with erasures and corrections, in which may be traced the dread in which she stood of offending Philip. *Demandez license de votre Haultesse,* is crossed through and altered into *Supplier très humblement.* Where she had described herself as *obeissante*, she enlarged the word into *très obeissante*; and the tone throughout is most piteous. She entreats the king to appoint some person or persons to talk with her about the marriage. She says that the conscience which she has about it she has had for twenty-four years; that is to say, since Elizabeth's birth. Nevertheless, she will agree to Philip's wish, if the realm will agree. She is ready to discuss it; but she complains, so far as she dares complain, of the confessor. The priests trouble

her, she says. ‘Alfonsez espe-
cialement me proposoit questions
si obscures que mon simple
entendement ne les pouvoit com-
prehendre, comme pour exemple
il me demandoit qui estoit roy
au temps de Adam, et disoit
comme j'estoy obligée de faire
ceste mariage par ung article de
mon Credo, mais il ne l'exposoit.
... Aultres choses tres diffi-
ciles pour moy d'entendre. . . .
ainsy qu'il estoit impossible en
si peu de temps de changer. . . .
conscience. . . . Votre Haultesse
escript en ses dictes lettres que
si le consent de ce royaume
iroyt au contraire, Votre Haulte-
sse en imputeroit la coulpe en
moy. Je supplie en toute humi-
lité votre Haultesse de differer
ceste affaire jusques à votre re-
tour; et donques Votre Haulte-
sse sera juge si je seray coul-
pable ou non. Car autrement
je vinray en jalouse de Votre
Haultesse la quelle sera pire à
moy que mort; car j'en ay com-
mencé déjà d'en taster trop à
mon grand regret,’ &c.—Cotton.

CH. 33. women. If she was compelled to appear in public, she had lost her power of self-control; she would burst into fits of violent and uncontrollable passion; she believed every one about her to be a spy in the interest of the Lords. So disastrously miserable were all the consequences of her marriage, that it was said, the Pope, who had granted the dispensation for the contraction of it had better grant another for its dissolution.* Unfortunately there was one direction open in which her frenzy could have uncontrolled scope.

Cranmer writes to the queen, insisting that she can punish her own criminals without consulting the Pope.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, after his trial and his citation to Rome, addressed to the queen a singular letter: he did not ask for mercy, and evidently he did not expect mercy: he reasserted calmly the truth of the opinions for which he was to suffer; but he protested against the indignity done to the realm of England, and the degradation of the royal prerogative, 'when the king and queen, as if they were subjects in their own realm, complained and required justice at a stranger's hand against their own subjects, being already condemned to death by their own laws.' 'Death,' he said, 'could not grieve him much more than to have his most dread and gracious sovereigns, to whom under God he owed all obedience, to be his accusers in judgment before a stranger and outward power.'†

The appeal was intended perhaps to provoke the queen to let him die with his friends, in whose

MSS., Titus, B. 2: printed very
incorrectly in STRYPE's *Memo-*
rials, vol. vi. p. 418.

* NOAILLES.

† Cranmer to Queen Mary:
JENKINS, vol. i. p. 369. This

example and companionship he felt his strength CH. 33.
 supported. But it could not be; he was the ——————
 spectator of their fate, while his own was still December.
 held at a distance before him. He witnessed the His fate is
 agonies of Ridley; and the long imprisonment, protracted.
 the perpetual chafing of Soto, the Spanish friar, He sees
 and the dreary sense that he was alone, forsaken Latimer
 of man, and perhaps of God, began to wear die, and his
 into the firmness of a many-sided susceptible courage be-
 nature. Some vague indication that he might yield gins to fail.
 had been communicated to Pole by Soto before
 Christmas,* and the struggle which had evidently

protest was committed to Pole to answer, who replied to it at length.

The authority of the Pope in a secular kingdom, the legate said, was no more a foreign power than 'the authority of the soul of man coming from heaven in the body generate on earth.' 'The Pope's laws spiritual did no other but that the soul did in the body, giving life to the same, confirming and strengthening the same;' 'and that it was which the angel signified in Christ's conception, declaring what his authority should be, that he should sit *super domum David*, which was a temporal reign, *ut confirmet illud et corroboret*, as the spiritual laws did.'

The quotation is inaccurate. The words in the Vulgate are, *Dabit illi Dominus sedem David patris ejus: et regnabit in domo Jacob in aeternum.*

The letter contains another illustration of Pole's habit of mind. 'There was never spiritual man,'

he says, 'put to execution according to the order of the laws of the realm but he was first by the canon laws condemned and degraded; whereof there be as many examples afore the time of breaking the old order of the realm these last years, as hath been delinquents. Let the records be seen. And specially this is notable of the Bishop of ——————, which, being imprisoned for high treason, the king would not proceed to his condemnation and punishment afore he had the Pope's bull given him.'

The historical argument proceeded smoothly up to the name, which, however, was not and is not to be found. Pole was probably thinking of Archbishop Scrope, who, however, unfortunately for the argument, was put to death without the Pope's sanction.—Draft of a Letter from Cardinal Pole to Cranmer: *Harelian MSS. 417.*

* Pole to Philip: *Epistola Reg. Pol., vol. v. p. 47.*

CH. 33.

A.D. 1555.
December.His cause is
heard at
Rome, and
he is sen-
tenced by
the Pope.

commenced was permitted to protract itself. If the Archbishop of Canterbury, the father of the Reformed Church of England, could be brought to a recantation, that one victory might win back the hearts which the general constancy of the martyrs was drawing off in tens of thousands. Time, however, wore on, and the archbishop showed no definite signs of giving way. On the 14th of December, a mock trial was instituted at Rome; the report of the examination at Oxford was produced, and counsel were heard on both sides, or so it was pretended. Paul IV. then pronounced the final sentence, that Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, having been accused by his sovereigns of divers crimes and misdemeanours, it had been proved against him that he had followed the teachings of John Wicliff and Martin Luther of accursed memory;* that he had published books containing matters of heresy, and still obstinately persisted in those his erroneous opinions: he was therefore declared to be anathema, to be deprived of his office, and having been degraded, he was to be delivered over to the secular arm.

Feb. 14.
Bonner and
Thirlby
carry the
sentence to
Oxford.

There was some delay in sending the judgment to England. It arrived at the beginning of February, and on the 14th, Thirlby and Bonner went down to finish the work at Oxford. The court sate this time in Christ Church Cathedral. Cranmer was brought to the bar, and the Papal sentence was read. The preamble declared that

* *Damnata memoria. Sentence Definitive against Thomas Cranmer:* Foxe, vol. viii.

the cause had been heard with indifference, that CH. 33.
 the accused had been defended by an advocate, A.D. 1555.
 that witnesses had been examined for him, that December.
 he had been allowed every opportunity to answer
 for himself. ‘O Lord,’ he exclaimed, ‘what
 lies be these! that I, being in prison and never
 suffered to have counsel or advocate at home,
 should produce witness and appoint counsel at
 Rome; God must needs punish this shameless
 lying.’

Silence would perhaps have been more dignified; to speak at all was an indication of infirmity. As soon as the reading was finished, the archbishop was formally arrayed in his robes, and when the decoration was completed, Bonner called out in exultation :

‘This is the man that hath despised the Pope’s Holiness, and now is to be judged by him; this is the man that hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church; this is the man that hath contemned the blessed Sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before that blessed Sacrament hanging over the altar; this is the man that, like Lucifer, sat in the place of Christ upon an altar* to judge others, and now is come before an altar to be judged himself.’†

Thirlby checked the insolence of his companion. The degradation was about to commence, when the archbishop drew from his sleeve an appeal

The arch-
bishop is
apparelled
in his
robes,
and Bonner
rails at
him.

* An allusion to a scaffold sioner; said to have been erected in St. Paul’s Church, on which over an old altar.
 Cranmer had sate as a commis-

† Foxe, vol. viii. p. 73.

Ch. 33. ‘to the next Free General Council that should be called.’ It had been drawn after consultation with a lawyer, in the evident hope that it might save or prolong his life,* and he attempted to present it to his judges. But he was catching at straws, as in his clearer judgment he would have known. Thirlby said sadly that the appeal could not be received; his orders were absolute to proceed.

A.D. 1556.
February.
He offers
an appeal
to the next
Free Gene-
ral Council.
But the ap-
peal is re-
fused,
And he is
degraded
prepara-
tory to
execution.

The robes were stripped off in the usual way. The thin hair was clipped. Bonner with his own hands scraped the finger points which had been touched with the oil of consecration; ‘Now are you lord no longer,’ he said, when the ceremony was finished. ‘All this needed not,’ Cranmer answered; ‘I had myself done with this gear long ago.’

He was led off in a beadle’s threadbare gown, and a tradesman’s cap; and here for some important hours authentic account of him is lost. What he did, what he said, what was done or what was said to him, is known only in its results, or in Protestant tradition. Tradition said that he was taken from the cathedral to the house of the Dean of Christ Church, where he was delicately entertained, and worked upon with smooth words, and promises of life. ‘The noblemen,’ he was told, ‘bare him good-will; he was still strong, and might live many years, why should he cut them short?’ The story may contain some elements of truth. But the same

* Cranmer to a Lawyer: JENKINS, vol. i. p. 384.

evening, certainly, he was again in his cell; and among the attempts to move him which can be authenticated, there was one of a far different kind; a letter addressed to him by Pole to bring him to a sense of his condition.

' Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ,' so the legate addressed a prisoner in the expectation of death,* ' hath not God. He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son. If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed; for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds. There are some who tell me that, in obedience to this command, I ought not to address you, or to have any dealings with you, save the dealings of a judge with a criminal. But Christ came not to judge only, but also to save; I call upon you, not to enter into your house, for so I should make myself a partaker with you; my desire is only to bring you back to the church which you have deserted.

' You have corrupted Scripture, you have broken through the communion of saints, and now I tell you what you must do; I tell you, or rather not I, but Christ and the Church through me. Did I follow my own impulse, or did I speak in my own name, I should hold other language; to you I should not speak at all; I would address myself only to God; I would pray him to let fall the

* *Epist. Reg. Pol.*, vol. v. p. 248. I am obliged to abridge and epitomize.

CH. 33. fire of Heaven to consume you, and to consume
 A.D. 1556. with you the house into which you have entered
 February. in abandoning the Church.*

He has followed the example, and used the instruments of the devil. ‘ You pretend that you have used no instruments but reason, to lead men after you; what instrument did the devil use to seduce our parents in Paradise? . you have followed the serpent; with guile you destroyed your king, the realm, and the Church, and you have brought to perdition thousands of human souls.

‘ Compared with you, all others who have been concerned in these deeds of evil, are but objects of pity; many of them long resisted temptation, and yielded only to the seductions of your impious tongue; you made yourself a bishop,—for what purpose, but to mock both God and man? Your first act was but to juggle with your king, and you were no sooner Primate, than you plotted how you might break your oath to the Holy See; you took part in the counsels of the evil one, you made your home with the wicked, you sate in the seat of the scornful. You exhorted your king with your fine words, to put away his wife; you prated to him of his obligations to submit to the judgment of the Church;† and what has

He betrayed his king into wickedness,

* Car se je n'écoutois que les mouvements de la nature, se je ne vous parlois qu'en mon nom, je vous tiendrois un autre langage, ou plutôt je ne vous dirois rien; je m'entretiendrois avec Dieu seul et je lui demanderois de faire tomber le feu du ciel pour vous consumer avec cette maison ou vous avez passé en abandonnant

l'Eglise. The letter was only known to the editor of Pole's remains in a French translation. I do not know whether the original exists, or whether it was in Latin or in English.

† The innumerable modern writers who agree with Pole on the iniquity of the divorce of Catherine forget that, according

followed that unrighteous sentence? You parted CH. 33.
the king from the wife with whom he had lived
for 20 years; you parted him from the Church,
the common mother of the faithful; and thence-
forth throughout the realm law has been trampled
under foot, the people have been ground with
tyranny, the churches pillaged, the nobility mur-
dered one by the other.

A.D. 1556.
February.

'Therefore, I say, were I to make my own And on
cries heard in heaven, I would pray God to de- him de-
mand at your hands the blood of his servants. volves the
Never had religion, never had the Church of whole guilt
Christ a worse enemy than you have been; now of the
therefore, when you are about to suffer the just schism in
reward of your deeds, think no more to excuse the
yourself; confess your sins, like the penitent Church.
thief upon the cross.

'Say not in your defence that you have done no violence, that you have been kind and gentle in your daily life. Thus I know men speak of you; but cheat not your conscience with so vain a plea. The devil, when called to answer for the souls that he has slain, may plead likewise that he did not desire their destruction; he thought only to make them happy, to give them pleasure, honour, riches—all things which their hearts desired. So did you with your king: you gave him the woman that he lusted after; you gave

to the rule which most of us now acknowledge, the marriage of Henry with his brother's wife *really was incestuous*—really was forbidden by the laws of God and nature; that the Pope had no more authority to dispense with those laws than he has now; and that if modern law is right, Cranmer did no more than his duty.

CH. 33. him the honour which was not his due, and the
 A.D. 1556. good things which were neither his nor yours;
 February. and, last and worst, you gave him poison, in
 He de- covering his iniquities with a cloak of righteousness.
 ceived the belief that he was
 king into a doing right, courtezans for companions; better you and he
 he was had been open thieves and robbers. Then he
 doing right, and led him into hopeless perdition.
 might have understood his crimes, and have re-
 pented of them; but you tempted him into the
 place where there is no repentance, no hope of
 salvation.

*But Cran-
 mer him-
 self may
 still repent.*

‘Turn then yourself, and repent. See yourself as you are. Thus may you escape your prison. Thus may you flee out of the darkness wherein you have hid yourself. Thus may you come back to light and life, and earn for yourself God’s forgiveness. I know not how to deal with you. Your examination at Oxford has but hardened you; yet the issue is with God. I at least can point out to you the way. If you, then, persist in your vain opinions, may God have mercy on you.’

The legate, in his office of guide, then travelled the full round of controversy, through Catholic tradition, through the doctrine of the Sacraments and of the real presence, where there is no need to follow him. At length he drew to his conclusion:

‘You will plead Scripture to answer me. Are you so vain, then, are you so foolish, as to suppose that it has been left to you to find out the meaning of those Scriptures which have been in the hands of the Fathers of the Church for so

many ages? Confess, confess that you have
mocked God in denying that he is present on the
altar; wash out your sins with tears; and in
the abundance of your sorrow you may find
pardon. May it be so. Even for the greatness
of your crimes may it be so, that God may have
the greater glory. You have not, like others,
fallen through simplicity, or fallen through fear.
You were corrupted, like the Jews, by earthly
rewards and promises. For your own profit you
denied the presence of your Lord, and you re-
belled against his servant the Pope. May you
see your crimes. May you feel the greatness of
your need of mercy. Now, even now, by my
mouth, Christ offers you that mercy; and with
the passionate hope which I am bound to feel
for your salvation, I wait your answer to your
Master's call.'

The exact day on which this letter reached
the archbishop is uncertain, but it was very near
the period of his sentence. He had dared death
bravely while it was distant; but he was physi-
cally timid; the near approach of the agony
which he had witnessed in others unnerved him;
and in a moment of mental and moral prostra-
tion Cranmer may well have looked in the mirror
which Pole held up to him, and asked himself
whether, after all, the being there described was
his true image — whether it was himself as
others saw him. A faith which had existed for
centuries, a faith in which generation after
generation have lived happy and virtuous lives;
a faith in which all good men are agreed, and

A.D. 1556.
February.
If he will
confess his
sins, and
throw him-
self hum-
bly upon
God's
mercy,
God will
forgive
him.

Cranmer,
being
neither ar-
rogant nor
fanatical,
may have
been at-
tacked, in
moments of
despond-
ency, by
real doubt.

CH. 33. only the bad dispute,—such a faith carries an
 evidence and a weight with it beyond what can
 be looked for in a creed reasoned out by individuals—a creed which had the ban upon it of inherited execration; which had been held in abhorrence once by him who was now called upon to die for it. Only fools and fanatics believe that they cannot be mistaken. Sick misgivings may have taken hold upon him in moments of despondency, whether, after all, the millions who received the Roman supremacy might not be more right than the thousands who denied it; whether the argument on the real presence, which had satisfied him for fifty years, might not be better founded than his recent doubts. It is not possible for a man of gentle and modest nature to feel himself the object of intense detestation without uneasy pangs; and as such thoughts came and went, a window might seem to open, through which there was a return to life and freedom. His trial was not greater than hundreds of others had borne, and would bear with constancy; but the temperaments of men are unequally constituted, and a subtle intellect and a sensitive organization are not qualifications which make martyrdom easy.

*His tempe-
rament was
nervously
sensitive.*

*He is
afraid of
death; he
desires to
save his
life,*

Life, by the law of the Church, by justice, by precedent, was given to all who would accept it on terms of submission. That the archbishop should be tempted to recant, with the resolution formed, notwithstanding, that he should still suffer, whether he yielded or whether he was

obstinate, was a suspicion which his experience CH. 33.
of the legate had not taught him to entertain.

So it was that Cranmer's spirit gave way, and A.D. 1556.
February. he who had disdained to fly when flight was open
to him, because he considered that, having done
the most in establishing the Reformation he was
bound to face the responsibility of it, fell at last
under the protraction of the trial.

The day of his degradation the archbishop had And he
eaten little. In the evening he returned to his makes his
cell in a state of exhaustion: * the same night, or submission.
the next day, he sent in his first submission, †
which was forwarded on the instant to the queen.
It was no sooner gone than he recalled it, and He recalls
then vacillating again, he drew a second, in it, but
slightly altered words, which he signed and did again gives
not recal. There had been a struggle in which way,
the weaker nature had prevailed, and the ortho-
dox leaders made haste to improve their triumph.
The first step being over, confessions far more
humiliating could now be extorted. Bonner
came to his cell, and obtained from him a pro-
mise in writing, 'to submit to the king and And signs
queen in all their laws and ordinances, as well a second
touching the Pope's supremacy as in all other recanta-
things;' with an engagement further 'to move
and stir all others to do the like,' and to live in
a third

* JENKINS, vol. iv. p. 129.

† Forasmuch as the King's
and Queen's Majesties, by con-
sent of parliament, have received
the Pope's authority within this
realm, I am content to submit

myself to their laws herein, and
to take the Pope for chief head
of this Church of England so far
as God's laws and the customs of
this realm will permit.

THOMAS CRANMER.

CH. 33. quietness and obedience, without murmur or
A.D. 1556. grudging; his book on the Sacrament he would
 February. submit to the next general council.

*And after-
wards a
fourth and
a fifth.*

These three submissions must have followed one another rapidly. On the 16th of February, two days only after his trial, he made a fourth, and yielding the point which he had reserved, he declared that he believed all the articles of the Christian religion as the Catholic Church believed. But so far he had spoken generally, and the court required particulars. In a fifth and longer submission,* he was made to anathematize particularly the heresies of Luther and Zuinglius; to accept the Pope as the head of the Church, out of which was no salvation; to acknowledge the real presence in the Eucharist, the seven sacraments as received by the Roman Catholics, and purgatory. He professed his penitence for having once held or taught otherwise, and he implored the prayers of all faithful Christians, that those whom he had seduced might be brought back to the true fold.

The demands of the Church might have been

* Of this fifth submission there is a contemporary copy among the MSS. at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. It was the only one known to Foxe; and this, with the fact of its being found in a separate form, gives a colour of probability to Mr. Southey's suspicion that the rest were forgeries. The whole collection was published by Bonner, who injured his claims to credit by printing with the

others a seventh recantation, which was never made, and by concealing the real truth. But the balance of evidence I still think is in favour of the genuineness of the first six. The first four lead up to the fifth, and the invention of them after the fifth had been made would have been needless. The sixth I agree with Strype in considering to have been composed by Pole, and signed by Cranmer.

satisfied by these last admissions; but Cranmer CH. 33.
had not yet expiated his personal offences against A.D. 1556.
the queen and her mother, and he was to drain February.
the cup of humiliation to the dregs.

A month was allowed to pass. He was left March 18.
with the certainty of his shame, and the uncer- lapse of a
tainty whether, after all, it had not been encoun- month he
tered in vain. On the 18th of March, one more makes a
paper was submitted to his signature, in which last and
he confessed to be all which Pole had described more humili-
him. He called himself a blasphemer, and a per- liating con-
secutor; being unable to undo his evil work, he fession;
had no hope, he said, save in the example of the thief upon the cross, who, when other means of reparation were taken from him, made amends to God with his lips. He was unworthy of mercy, and he deserved eternal vengeance. He had sinned against King Henry and his wife; he was the cause of the divorce, from which, as from a seed, had sprung up schism, heresy, and crime; he had opened a window to false doctrines of which he had been himself the most pernicious teacher; especially he reflected with anguish that he had denied the presence of his Maker in the consecrated elements. He had deceived the living, and he had robbed the souls of the dead by stealing from them their masses. He prayed the Pope to pardon him; he prayed the king and queen to pardon him; he prayed God Almighty to pardon him, as He had pardoned Mary Magdalene; or to look upon him as, from his own cross, He had looked upon the thief.*

* Recantations of Thomas Cranmer: JENKINS, vol. iv. p. 393.

CH. 33.

A.D. 1556.
March.
And hav-
ing, as the
court be-
lieved,
finally dis-
graced him-
self, they
determined
to kill him
in spite of
his recan-
tation.

The most ingenious malice could invent no deeper degradation, and the archbishop might now die. One favour was granted to him alone of all the sufferers for religion—that he might speak at his death; speak, and, like Northumberland, perish with a recantation on his lips.

The hatred against him was confined to the court. Even among those who had the deepest distaste for his opinions, his character had won affection and respect; and when it was known that he was to be executed, there was a widespread and profound emotion. ‘Although,’ says a Catholic who witnessed his death, ‘his former life and wretched end deserved a greater misery, if any greater might have chanced to him; yet, setting aside his offence to God and his country, beholding the man without his faults, I think there was none that pitied not his case and bewailed not his fortune, and feared not his own chance, to see so noble a prelate, so grave a councillor, of so long-continued honours, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life.’*

On Saturday, the 21st of March, Lord Williams was again ordered into Oxford to keep the peace, with Lord Chandos, Sir Thomas Brydges, and other gentlemen of the county. If they allowed themselves to countenance by their presence the scene which they were about to witness, it is to be remembered that but a few years since, these

* Death of Cranmer, related by a Bystander: *Harleian MSS.*, 442. Printed, with some inaccuracies, by STEYRE.

same gentlemen had seen Catholic priests swinging from the pinnacles of their churches. The memory of the evil days was still recent, and amidst the tumult of conflicting passions, no one could trust his neighbour, and organized resistance was impracticable.

The March morning broke wild and stormy. The morning being wet, the sermon is preached at St. Mary's. The sermon intended to be preached at the stake was adjourned, in consequence of the wet, to St. Mary's, where a high stage was erected, on which Cranmer was to stand conspicuous. Peers, knights, doctors, students, priests, men-at-arms, and citizens, thronged the narrow aisles, and through the midst of them the archbishop was led in by the mayor. As he mounted the platform many of the spectators were in tears. He knelt and prayed silently, and Cole, the Provost of Eton, then took his place in the pulpit.

Although, by a strained interpretation of the law, it could be pretended that the time of grace had expired with the trial; yet, to put a man to death at all after recantation was a proceeding so violent and unusual, that some excuse or some explanation was felt to be necessary.

Cole therefore first declared why it was expedient that the late archbishop should suffer, notwithstanding his reconciliation. One reason was 'for that he had been a great causer of all the alterations in the realm of England; and when the matter of the divorce between King Henry VIII. and Queen Catherine was commenced in the court of Rome, he, having nothing to do with it, sate upon it as a judge, which was

The preacher explains the causes which determined the court to execute the archbishop.

CH. 33. the entry to all the inconveniences which followed.' ' Yet in that Mr. Cole excused him—that he thought he did it, not out of malice, but by the persuasion and advice of certain learned men.'

A.D. 1556.
March 21.

Another occasion was, 'for that he had been the great setter forth of all the heresy received into the Church in the latter times; had written in it, had disputed, had continued it even to the last hour; and it had never been seen in the time of schism that any man continuing so long had been pardoned, and that it was not to be remitted for example's sake.'

' And other causes,' Cole added, ' moved the queen and council thereto, which were not meet and convenient for every one to understand.*'

He makes
the arch-
bishop the
text of an
exhortation
to the
audience.

The explanations being finished, the preacher exhorted his audience to take example, from the spectacle before them, to fear God, and to learn that there was no power against the Lord. There, in their presence, stood a man, once 'of so high degree—sometime one of the chief prelates of the Church—an archbishop, the chief of the council, the second person of the realm: of long time, it might be thought, in great assurance, a king on his side;' and now, 'notwith-

* Narrative of the Execution of Thomas Cranmer: *MS. Harleian*, 422. Another account gives, among the causes which Cole mentioned, that 'it seemed meet, according to the law of equality, that, as the death of the Duke of Northumberland of late made even with Sir Thomas More, Chancellor, that died for the Church, so there should be

one that should make even with Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; and because that Ridley, Hooper, and Ferrars were not able to make even with that man, it seemed that Cranmer should be joined with them to fill up their part of equality.'—FOXE, vol. viii. p. 85. JENKINS, vol. iv. p. 133.

standing all his authority and defence, debased from a high estate unto a low degree—of a coun-cillor become a caitiff, and set in so wretched estate that the poorest wretch would not change conditions with him.'

CH. 33.
A.D. 1556.
March 21.

Turning, in conclusion, to Cranmer himself, Cole then 'comforted and encouraged him to take his death well by many places in Scripture; bidding him nothing mistrust but that he should incontinently receive that the thief did, to whom Christ said, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. Out of Paul he armed him against the terrors of fire, by the words, The Lord is faithful, and will not suffer you to be tempted beyond that which you are able to bear; by the example of the three Children, to whom God made the flame seem like a pleasant joy; by the rejoicing of St. Andrew on his cross; by the patience of St. Lawrence on the fire.' He dwelt upon his conversion, which, he said, was the special work of God, because so many efforts had been made by men to work upon him, and had been made in vain. God, in his own time, had reclaimed him, and brought him home.

He congratulates the archbishop himself on his conversion,

A dirge, the preacher said, should be sung for him in every church in Oxford; he charged all the priests to say each a mass for the repose of his soul; and finally, he desired the congregation present to kneel where they were, and pray for him.

And promises him the prayers of the Church.

The whole crowd fell on their knees, the arch-bishop with them; and 'I think,' says the eye-witness,* 'that there was never such a number so

* MS. Harleian, 422.

CH. 33. earnestly praying together; for they that hated him before, now loved him for his conversion, and
 A.D. 1556.
 March 21. hopes of continuance: they that loved him before could not suddenly hate him, having hope of his confession; so love and hope increased devotion on every side.'

'I shall not need,' says the same writer, 'to describe his behaviour for the time of sermon, his sorrowful countenance, his heavy cheer, his face bedewed with tears; sometimes lifting his eyes to heaven in hope, sometimes casting them down to the earth for shame—to be brief, an image of sorrow, the dolour of his heart bursting out of his eyes, retaining ever a quiet and grave behaviour, which increased the pity in men's hearts.'

The archbishop is then invited to speak.

His own turn to speak was now come. When the prayer was finished, the preacher said, 'Lest any man should doubt the sincerity of this man's repentance, you shall hear him speak before you.—I pray you, Master Cranmer,' he added, turning to him, 'that you will now perform that you promised not long ago; that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith.'

'I will do it,' the archbishop answered.

'Good Christian people,' he began, 'my dear, beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many and without number, and great above measure; one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof, God willing, I shall speak more; but how many or how great

soever they be, I beseech you to pray God of his CH. 33.
mercy to pardon and forgive them all.'

Falling again on his knees :—

A.D. 1556.
March 21.

'O Father of heaven,' he prayed, 'O Son of God, Redeemer of the world; O Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner. I have offended both heaven and earth more than my tongue can express; whither then may I go, or whither should I flee for succour? To heaven I am ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no succour nor refuge. What shall I do? Shall I despair? God forbid! Oh, good God, thou art merciful, and refusest none that come to thee for succour. To thee, therefore, do I come; to thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord, my sins be great, yet have mercy on me for thy great mercy. The mystery was not wrought that God became man, for few or little offences. Thou didst not give thy Son, O Father, for small sins only, but for all and the greatest in the world, so that the sinner return to thee with a penitent heart, as I do at this present. Wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, whose property is always to have mercy; although my sins be great, yet is thy mercy greater; wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing, O Lord, for mine own merits, but for thy Name's sake, and, therefore, O Father of heaven, hallowed be thy Name.'

Then rising, he went on with his address :—

'Every man desireth, good people, at the time

The arch-
bishop's
prayer.

CH. 33. of his death, to give some good exhortation that others may remember after his death, and be the better thereby; for one word spoken of a man at his last end* will be more remembered than the few general sermons made of them that live and remain. So I beseech God grant me grace, that I may speak something at my departing whereby God may be glorified and you edified.

Against the love of the world— ‘But it is an heavy case to see that many folks be so doted upon the love of this false world, and be so careful for it, that of the love of God or the world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing; therefore this shall be my first exhortation,—that you set not overmuch by this glozing world, but upon God and the world to come; and learn what this lesson meaneth which St. John teacheth, that the love of the world is hatred against God.

Against rebellion— ‘The second exhortation is, that next unto God, you obey your king and queen willingly, without murmur or grudging, not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God, knowing that they be God’s ministers, appointed

* Shakespeare was perhaps thinking of this speech of Cranmer, when he wrote the magnificent lines which he placed in the mouth of the dying Gaunt:—

‘O, but they say, the tongues of dying men
Enforce attention, like deep harmony:
Where words are scarce, they are seldom spent in vain:
For they breathe truth, that breathe their words in pain.
He, that no more must say, is listened more
Than they whom youth and ease have taught to glaze;
More are men’s ends marked, than their lives before:
The setting sun, and music at the close,
As the last taste of sweets, is sweetest last;
Writ in remembrance more than things long past.’

of God to rule and govern you, and therefore CH. 33.
 whosoever resisteth them resisteth God's ordi-
 nance.

A.D. 1556.
 March 21.

'The third exhortation is, that you live all ^{Against}
 together like brethren and sisters: but, alas! ^{discord and}
 division—
 pity it is to see what contention and hatred one
 man hath against another, not taking each other
 for brethren and sisters, but rather as strangers
 and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and
 bear well away the lesson, to do good to all men
 as much as in you lieth, and hurt no man no
 more than you would hurt your own natural
 brother or sister. For this you may be sure,
 that whosoever hateth his brother or sister,
 and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt
 him, surely, and without all doubt, God is not
 with that man, although he think himself never
 so much in God's favour.

'The fourth exhortation shall be to them that ^{And}
 have great substance and riches of this world, ^{against}
 that they may well consider and weigh these ^{love of}
 three sayings of the Scriptures. One is of our ^{riches.}
 Saviour Christ himself, who saith that it is a
 hard thing for a rich man to come to heaven; a
 sore saying, and spoken of Him that knoweth
 the truth. The second is of St. John, whose
 saying is this: He that hath the substance of this
 world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and
 shutteth up his compassion and mercy from him,
 how can he say he loveth God? The third is of
 St. James, who speaketh to the covetous and
 rich men after this manner: Weep and howl for
 the misery which shall come upon you; your

CH. 33. riches doth rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your
 A.D. 1556.
 March 21. gold and silver is cankered and rusty, and the
 rust thereof shall bear witness against you, and
 consume you like fire; you gather and hoard up
 treasure of God's indignation against the last
 day. I tell them which be rich, ponder these
 sentences; for if ever they had occasion to show
 their charity, they have it now at this present;
 the poor people being so many, and victuals so
 dear; for although I have been long in prison,
 yet have I heard of the great penury of the
 poor.'

The people listened breathless, 'intending
 upon the conclusion.'

Then, feeling himself on the edge of eternity, he will confess his true faith, 'And now,' he went on, 'forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past and all my life to come, either to live with my Saviour Christ in joy, or else to be ever in pain with wicked devils in hell; and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven'—and he pointed upwards with his hand—'or hell,' and he pointed downwards, 'ready to swallow me. I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, without colour or dissimulation; for now it is no time to dissemble. I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth; in every article of the Catholic faith; every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Christ, his apostles, and prophets, in the Old and New Testament.

And disburden his conscience of its load. 'And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that ever I said or did in my life, and that

is the setting abroad of writings contrary to the CH. 33.
 truth, which here I now renounce and refuse,* as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death to save my life, if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers as I have written and signed with my hand since my de-

A.D. 1556.
 March 21.
 He had
 written, in
 fear of
 death,
 things
 which he
 did not
 believe.

* There are two original contemporary accounts of Cranmer's words—*Harleian MSS.*, 417 and 422,—and they agree so far almost word for word with 'The Prayer and Saying of Thomas Cranmer a little before his Death,' which was published immediately after by Bonner. But we now encounter the singular difficulty, that the conclusion given by Bonner is altogether different. The archbishop is made to repeat his recantation, and express especial grief for the books which he had written upon the Sacrament.

There is no uncertainty as to what Cranmer really said; but, inasmuch as Bonner at the head of his version of the speech has described it as 'written with his own hand,' it has been inferred that he was required to make a copy of what he intended to say,—that he actually wrote what Bonner printed, hoping to the end that his life would be spared; and that he would have repeated it publicly, had he seen that there was a chance of his escape. Finding, however, that his execution had been irrevocably determined on, he made the substitution at the last moment.

There are many difficulties in this view, chiefly from the cha-

racter of the speech itself, which has the stamp upon it of too evident sincerity to have been composed with any underhand intentions. The tone is in harmony throughout, and the beginning leads naturally to the conclusion which Cranmer really spoke.

There is another explanation, which is to me more credible. The Catholics were furious at their expected triumph being snatched from them. Whether Cranmer did or did not write what Bonner says he *wrote*, Bonner knew that he had not *spoken* it, and yet was dishonest enough to print it as having been spoken by him, evidently hoping that the truth could be suppressed, and that the Catholic cause might escape the injury which the archbishop's recovered constancy must inflict upon it. A man who was capable of so considerable a falsehood would not have hesitated for the same good purpose to alter a few sentences. Pious frauds have been committed by more religious men than Edmund Bonner. See the Recantation of Thomas Cranmer, reprinted from Bonner's original pamphlet: JENKINS, vol. iv. p. 393.

CH. 33. gradation, wherein I have written many things
A.D. 1556. untrue; and forasmuch as my hand offended in
March 21. writing contrary to my heart, my hand therefore
 shall first be punished; for if I may come to the
He abhors
the Pope as
Antichrist. fire, it shall be the first burnt. As for the Pope,
 I utterly refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Anti-
 christ, with all his false doctrine; and as for the
 Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my
 book against the Bishop of Winchester.'

So far the archbishop was allowed to con-
 tinue, before his astonished hearers could collect
 themselves. 'Play the Christian man,' Lord
 Williams at length was able to call; 'remember
 yourself; do not dissemble.' 'Alas! my Lord,'
 the archbishop answered, 'I have been a man that
 all my life loved plainness, and never dissembled
 till now, which I am most sorry for.' He

He is not
allowed to
proceed
further,
and is car-
ried off to
the stake. would have gone on; but cries now rose on all
 sides, 'Pull him down,' 'Stop his mouth,' 'Away
 with him,' and he was borne off by the throng
 out of the church. The stake was a quarter of

a mile distant, at the spot already consecrated by
 the deaths of Ridley and Latimer. Priests and
 monks 'who did rue* to see him go so wickedly to
 his death, ran after him, exhorting him, while time
 was, to remember himself.' But Cranmer, having
 flung down the burden of his shame, had recov-
 ered his strength, and such words had no longer
 power to trouble him. He approached the stake
 with 'a cheerful countenance,' undressed in

* *Harleian MS., 422.* Strype has misread the word into 'ran,'
 losing the point of the expression.

haste, and stood upright in his shirt. Soto and another Spanish friar continued expostulating; but finding they could effect nothing, one said in Latin to the other, ‘Let us go from him, for the devil is within him.’ An Oxford theologian —his name was Ely—being more clamorous, drew from him only the answer that, as touching his recantation, ‘he repented him right sore, because he knew that it was against the truth.’

‘Make short, make short!’ Lord Williams cried Cranmer's death, hastily.

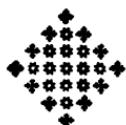
The archbishop shook hands with his friends; Ely only drew back, calling, ‘Recant, recant,’ and bidding others not approach him.

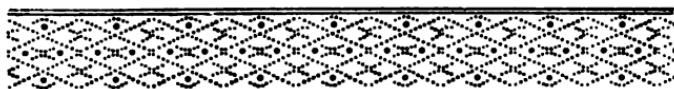
‘This was the hand that wrote it,’ Cranmer said, extending his right arm; ‘this was the hand that wrote it, therefore it shall suffer first punishment.’ Before his body was touched, he held the offending member steadily in the flame, ‘and never stirred nor cried.’ The wood was dry and mercifully laid; the fire was rapid at its work, and he was soon dead. ‘His friends,’ said a Catholic bystander, ‘sorrowed for love, his enemies for pity, strangers for a common kind of humanity, whereby we are bound to one another.’

So perished Cranmer. He was brought out, with the eyes of his soul blinded, to make sport for his enemies, and in his death he brought upon them a wider destruction than he had effected by his teaching while alive. Pole was appointed the next day to the see of Canterbury; but in other respects the court had overreached them-
And the
conse-
quences of
his death.

A.D. 1556.
March 21.

CH. 33. selves by their cruelty. Had they been contented
A.D. 1556.
March 21. to accept the recantation, they would have left the archbishop to die broken-hearted, pointed at by the finger of pitying scorn; and the Reformation would have been disgraced in its champion. They were tempted, by an evil spirit of revenge, into an act unsanctioned even by their own bloody laws; and they gave him an opportunity of redeeming his fame, and of writing his name in the roll of martyrs. The worth of a man must be measured by his life, not by his failure under a single and peculiar trial. The Apostle, though forewarned, denied his Master on the first alarm of danger; yet that Master who knew his nature in its strength and its infirmity, chose him for the rock on which He would build His Church.





CHAPTER XXXIV.

CALAIS.

NOT far from Abingdon, on the London road, CH. 34.
was a house belonging to a gentleman named Christopher Ashton. Here, on their way to and fro between the western counties and the capital, members of parliament, or other busy persons, whom the heat of the times tempted from their homes, occasionally called; and the character of the conversation which was to be heard in that house, may be gathered from the following depositions. On the 4th of January, Sir Nicholas Arnold looked in, and found Sir Henry Dudley there.

A.D. 1556.
January.

‘Well, Sir Nicholas, what news?’ said Ashton. Malcontent
‘None worth hearing,’ Arnold answered. members of parliament
‘I am sure you hear they go about a corona-
tion,’ Dudley said. and others
meet and talk over
the news.

‘I hear no such matter,’ said Arnold. ‘The news that are worth the hearing, are in such men’s heads that will not utter them, and the rest are not to be credited.’*

* Saying of Sir Nicholas Arnold: *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. vii.

CH. 34. ‘There be news come out of Flanders, as I
 A.D. 1556. February. heard from Sir Peter Mewtas,’ said Ashton,
 laughing, to another visitor.* ‘The king has
 written to the queen that he will not come hither
 a great while, or, as men think, any more; and
 the queen was in a rage, and caused the king’s
 picture to be carried out of the privy chamber,
 and she in a wonderful storm, and could not be
 in any wise quieted.’†

‘They have put me in the Tower for their
 pleasures,’ said Sir Anthony Kingston; ‘but so
 shall they never do more.’‡

At another time Sir Henry Peckham was
 alone with Ashton. Peckham§ had been one of
 the sharers in the forfeited estates of the Duke
 of Norfolk. He was obliged to relinquish his
 grant, with but small compensation, and he com-
 plained of his treatment. Ashton bade him ‘be
 of good cheer.’

‘If you will keep my counsel,’ Ashton said,
 ‘I will tell you news that will bring your land
 again or it be long.’

* The conversations with Ashton were sometimes at his own house; sometimes at an inn by the waterside, near Lambeth; sometimes at other places. The localities are not always easy to make out.

† Deposition of Thomas White: *MS., Mary, Domestic,* vol. vii.

‡ Wotton to the Queen, cypher: *French MSS.*, bundle 13. State Paper Office. Kingston

was one of the members of the House of Commons who was imprisoned at the close of the late session, for the freedom of his language in parliament. He was ‘Vice-admiral of the Ports about the Severn,’ and a man of large influence in the Welsh Marches.

§ Younger son of Sir Edward Peckham, Cofferer of the Household, and Member of Council under Edward VI.

CH. 34.

Peckham promised to be secret.

‘Sir Anthony Kingston,’ Ashton continued, ‘and a great many of the western gentlemen, are in a confederacy to send the Queen’s Highness over to the king, and make the Lady Elizabeth queen, and to marry the Earl of Devonshire to the said Lady Elizabeth. The laws of the realm will bear it, that they may do it justly; and Sir Anthony Kingston hath required me to hearken to King Henry VIII.’s will; for there is sufficient matter for our purpose, as Sir Anthony doth tell me. I pray, if you can, help me to it.’

Peckham said it was to be had in the Rolls. Ashton did not like to put himself in the way of suspicion by asking to see it publicly, and begged Peckham to obtain a copy for him elsewhere.

‘I will show you a token,’ he then said, and took out half a broken penny; ‘the other half is with Sir Anthony, and whosoever I do send this same to Sir Anthony, then will he be in readiness with ten thousand men within three days upon receipt of this token.’ If Lord Pembroke’s men made resistance on the Marches, Kingston would cut them off, and would be in London in twenty days at furthest. And ‘when this is done,’ Ashton continued, ‘your father shall be made a duke; for I tell you true, that the Lady Elizabeth is a jolly liberal dame, and nothing so unthankful as her sister is; and she taketh this liberality of her mother, who was one of the bountifullest women in all her time or since; and

A.D. 1556.
February.
Another
conspiracy
is formed
to dethrone
the queen.

CH. 34. then shall men of good service and gentlemen
be esteemed.'

A.D. 1556.
February.

Peckham, who had not anticipated so dangerous a confidence, looked grave and uneasy; Ashton said he hoped he would not betray him. 'No,' Peckham answered, and gave him his hand with his promise.

'I will tell you more, then,' his friend went on; 'we shall have that will take our part, the Earl of Westmoreland, who will not come alone, and we shall have my Lord Williams.*

'That cannot be,' Peckham said; 'he hath served the queen right well, and by her Highness was made lord.'

'I can better tell than you,' Ashton answered; 'the Lord Williams is a good fellow, and is as unthankfully dealt with as you, Sir Henry. I tell you that he is sure on our side; and Sir Henry Dudley hath spoken with all the gentlemen that be soldiers, that be about the town, and they be all sure ours, so that we have left the queen never a man of war that is worth a button.'†

Meeting of
disaffected
members
of par-
liament
at Arun-
del's,

The scene changes. Readers of the earlier volumes of this history will remember Arundel's, in Lawrence Poultney-lane, where Lord Surrey and his friends held their nightly festivities. Times had changed, and so had Arundel's. It was now the resort of the young Liberal mem-

* Lord Williams of Thame, who superintended the executions of Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer.

† Confession of Sir Henry Peckham: *Mary, Domestic, MS.*, vol. viii.

bers of parliament, where the Opposition tactics in the House of Commons were discussed and settled upon. Here during the late session had met the men whose names have been mentioned in the preceding conversation, and who had crossed the queen's purposes; Kingston, Peckham, Ashton, Dudley, and with them Sir John Perrot, Sir William Courtenay, Sir Hugh Pollard, Sir John Chichester, and two young Tremaynes of Colacombe in Devonshire, one of whom had been concerned with Wyatt and Carew. Here also came John Daniel, in the service at one time of Lord Northampton, who, not being in parliament, was excluded from the more private consultations, but heard much of the general talk; And the conversation which was to be heard there.
‘ how they, with great wilfulness, as might be perceived by their behaviour, did sore mislike such Catholic proceedings as they saw the queen went about, and did intend to resist such matters as should be spoken of in the parliament house other than liked them.’*

The party broke up with the dissolution. Some of them, however, came back to London, and Daniel, one afternoon in March, was waiting for his dinner in the public room, when a ruffling cavalier named Ned Horsey, came in, humming a catch of ‘Good man priest, now beware your pallet,’ ‘and bringing out a rhyme thereto of ‘Fire and faggot,’ and ‘helm and sallet.’’ John Daniel and Ned Horsey.

‘I desire to live no longer than Whitsuntide next,’ Horsey said to Daniel; ‘for if I live so

* Confession of John Daniel: *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. viii.

CH. 34 long, I mistrust not but my deeds shall be chronicled.'

A.D. 1556.
March. ‘Tush, my boy,’ he went on, ‘be of good cheer; for when thou shalt hear what the matter is, thou wilt take up thy hand and bless thee, and marvel that such young heads could ever bring such a matter as this to pass. I tell thee, the matter hath been a-brewing this quarter of a year at least, when thou wast in the country like a lout. Well, well, man, we shall either be men shortly, or no men; yea, and that very shortly, too.’

‘Tell me what you mean,’ said Daniel.

‘Alas! good lout,’ quoth Horsey, ‘and do you not know, I pray you? hath not Harry Dudley told you of it?’

‘No, by the faith of a Christian man,’ said Daniel, ‘Harry Dudley told me nothing except that he was going into France. But I pray thee, good Ned Horsey, tell me.’

‘By God’s blood!’ said Horsey, ‘then I will not tell you; for we have all taken an oath on the Testament, that no man should break it to any man, except as told first by Harry Dudley.’

Horsey went on to talk of preparations, in which Daniel had been concerned, for an expedition to Southampton. Daniel, being a man of property, had undertaken to provide the horses, and had deposited a sum of money for the purpose; but, from Horsey’s words, he perceived that schemes were on foot, which, having something to lose, he had better keep clear of. ‘His heart,’ he said, ‘rys in his body as big as a loaf;’ he left the table, went down into the garden,

and walked up and down an alley to collect himself; at last he ran into an arbour, where he knelt and said his prayers.

‘What, man?’ said Sir John Harrington, looking in, ‘you are well occupied on your knees so soon after dinner.’

Daniel made up his mind that his friends were bringing him into a fool’s paradise; ‘as they did brew, so they should bake for him,’ he thought, ‘and those heads that had studied it before he came to town should work the end of it.’ He stole away, therefore, and crossed the river to Southwark, where he took into his confidence a surgeon named Blacklock. Daniel pretended a broken leg, which Blacklock pretended to set: and thus the expedition to Southampton went off without him; the object of it being the despatch of one of the party into France, and the arrangement of the details of the conspiracy with the Captain of the Isle of Wight.

The characters of the persons who were concerned in this new plot against Mary’s throne will not require much further elucidation. Sir Henry Dudley was Northumberland’s cousin—the same who had been employed by the duke as an agent with the French court; the rest were eager, headstrong, not very wise young men, who, in the general indignation of the country at the barbarity of the government, saw an opportunity of pushing themselves into distinction. Lord Willoughby, Lord Westmoreland, and Lord Oxford were suspected by the queen of being unsound in religion; they had been reprimanded,

CH. 34.

A.D. 1556.

March.

John.

Daniel’s

heart trou-

bles him,

And he tries to clear himself from dangerous companions.

CH. 34. and Oxford was thought likely to lose his lands.*

A.D. 1556.
March. If the first move could be made successfully, the conspirators counted on general support from these noblemen, and indeed from the whole body of the lay peers.

A duplicate
of Wyatt's
conspiracy
is formed
in concert
with the
French.

The plan was identical with that of Wyatt and Suffolk and Carew. Kingston was to march on London from Wales, and the force of the western counties was to join him on the Severn. One of the Throgmortons, called 'Long John,' had been at the French court, and made arrangements with Henry. Throgmorton returned to England, and Henry Dudley crossed the Channel in his place. The French promised to supply ships and money, while Dudley undertook to furnish them with crews from among the refugees or the western privateers, as Carew had done two years before. The Captain of the Isle of Wight, Uvedale, undertook to betray the island and Hurst Castle to the French. Dudley was to attack Portsmouth, where he would find the cannon 'pegged';† and when Portsmouth was taken, Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent were expected to rise.

The Isle of
Wight to
be betrayed
to the
French.

The con-
spirators
swear to
stand by
one
another,
and to
make no
confession.

Although known to so many persons, the secret was well kept. On Dudley's disappearance, inquiries were made about him. It was pretended that he was in debt, and had gone abroad to escape from his creditors. Some suspicion attached to the Tremaynes, who had long been con-

* Noailles to the King of France, March 12; *Ambassades*, vol. v.

† Uvedale's Confession: *Mary, Domestic, MS.*, vol. vii.; Peckham's Confession, vol. viii.

nected with the privateers at Scilly. Strangways, the pirate, happened to be taken prisoner, and told something to the council about them which led to their arrest; but though the matter was 'true enough,' they bore down their accuser by mere courageous audacity of denial; and their resolution and fidelity were held up as an example in the secret meetings of the conspirators.*

CH. 34.

A.D. 1556.

March.

The active co-operation of France was an essential element in the chances of success. From France, however, it became suddenly uncertain whether assistance was to be looked for. The English mediation in the European war had failed, because, after Mary's disappointment, France refused to part with Savoy; and the Emperor could not bring himself to make a peace where the sacrifices would be wholly on his own side. But the negotiations between the principals were never wholly let fall; the Emperor

* John Throgmorton said to Bedell, Derick, and me, on this wise: 'Whatsoever becomes of any of us in this dangerous enterprise, we will here promise, that albeit I, you, and your nannye, every of us, by name, should accuse any of us of this, or any part touching this enterprise, bye and bye to revile him with most taunting and naughty rebukes that may be devised. And thereby setting a stern countenance, and for our couraging and better comfort herein, he shewed us of a matter that was most true, and accused by Strangways against two brethren, meaning [the] Tremaynes,

who being but little men in personage, so reviled Strangways, accusing them before your honours, that because Strangways had no further proof but his only saying, and they so stoutly denying it, even to the threatening of the rack (or whether they were anything thereto constrained or no, as he said, I do not perfectly remember); but at length Strangways was in effect ready to weep, and think he had accused them wrongfully, and so they dismissed, and Strangways much of your honours rebuked.'—Thomas White to the Council: *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. vii.

CH. 34. had now resigned. Philip, with an embarrassed treasury, with his eye on the English crown, and with trouble threatening him from the Turks, was anxious to escape from the exhausting conflict; and at the beginning of February a truce for five years was concluded at Vaucelles, by which Henry was left in undisturbed possession of all his conquests.

A.D. 1556.
March.
A truce of
five years is
agreed to
between
France and
Spain, on
terms fa-
vourable to
the former.

Terms so advantageous to the court of France could not be rejected; but past experience forbade, nevertheless, any very sanguine hope that the truce would last out its term. Unquestionably, in the opinion of the French king, it would be broken without scruple could Philip obtain the active help of England; and Henry would not, therefore, relinquish his correspondence with the conspirators. He instructed Noailles only to keep them quiet for the present till Philip's intentions should be revealed more clearly.*

The King of France, however, desires to keep the conspirators in hand.

The 'young heads,' of whom Horsey had spoken to Daniel, were not, however, men whom it was easy to keep quiet. Noailles replied, that they were so anxious to make an effort for liberty, and felt so certain of success, that he found great difficulty in restraining them; if the King of France would give them some slight assistance at the outset,† they undertook to do the rest themselves.

Dudley, therefore, remained in France, whither he was followed by Ashton and Horsey, and Henry

* The Constable to Noailles, Feb. 7: *Ambassades*, vol. v.

† De leur prêter un peu d'espaule.

admitted them to a midnight audience. He said CH. 34.
that, for the moment, he could not act with them
openly; but he would throw no difficulty in their
way; if they were as strong as they professed to
be (and they said that members of the Privy
Council were in the confederacy), he would have
them go forward with their project; and if he
found Philip occupied, as he expected that he
would be, with the Turks in Hungary, he would
assist them with men, money, and other things.
Meanwhile, he gave Dudley 1500 crowns, dis-
tributed considerable sums among his com-
panions, and advised them to go, as Carew had
done before, to the coast of Normandy, and keep
up their communications with their friends.

The interview and the promises of Henry
were betrayed to Wotton, and by him reported in
cypher to Mary;* but the fear or treachery of one
of the party had already placed the government
in possession of information, as the first step was
about to be taken. Fifty thousand pounds were
in the Treasury: to embarrass the court, and to
provide the insurrection with funds, a party of
four or five—Rosey, keeper of the Star Chamber,
Heneage, an officer of the chapel royal, a man
named Derick, and one or two others—were
chosen to carry off the money. Before the en-
terprise could be undertaken, Thomas White—
perhaps one of the five, in alarm at the
danger—communicated with the council; and on
the 18th of March, Throgmorton, Peckham,

A.D. 1556.
March.
He gives
them pri-
vate encou-
ragement,
and assists
them with
money;

If circum-
stances fa-
vour, he
will help
them
openly.

The conspi-
rators pro-
pose to rob
the Treas-
ury.

* Wotton to the Queen: *French MSS.*, bundle 13.

CH. 34. Daniel, Rosey, and twelve or fourteen others, were seized suddenly, and sent to the Tower.
A.D. 1556. **March.** Their secre-
 crets are betrayed to the Govern-
 ment, and those who are in Eng-
 land are arrested.

Information was, of course, the great object of the court; and they would shrink from nothing which would enable them to extort confessions. The prisoners knew what was before them, and prepared themselves according to their courage.

Throgmorton, when locked into the room which was allotted to him in the Tower, found that Derick was in the chamber underneath. He loosened a board in the floor, and ‘required him that in any case, he should not be the destruction of others besides himself;’ ‘for look,’ Throgmorton said, ‘how many thou dost accuse, so many thou dost wilfully murder.’

**The pri-
 soners anti-
 cipate tor-
 ture.** Derick, it seems, was already thinking whether he could not, perhaps, save his own life. None of the party as yet knew how much of their secret had been discovered, or the value, therefore, which the government would place upon a full confession.

‘He would do nothing,’ Derick answered, ‘but that which God had appointed; and if God would that he should do it, there was no remedy.’

When a man has made up his mind that it is God’s will that he should be a rogue, he has small chance of recovering himself. Throgmor-

ton tried to reason him into manliness, and thought he had succeeded. Derick even promised to 'abide the torture,' 'whereupon Master Throgmorton did sup his porridge to him, in token of his truth.' But the torture was used or threatened, and Derick did not 'abide' it; promises of pardon were also used, which the prisoners knew to mean nothing, and yet were worked on by them.*

A.D. 1556.
March.

Further confessions
are extorted.

Derick turned approver, so did Rosey, so did Bedyll: Uvedale, who was ill and feeble, yielded to the rack; and, piece by piece, the whole conspiracy was drawn out. The investigation was committed exclusively to the queen's clique, Rochester, Englefield, Waldegrave, Jerningham, and Hastings. The rest of the council refused to meddle,† for reasons which, perhaps, the queen hoped to learn from one or other of the prisoners. Throgmorton, however, who could tell the most, would tell nothing, though the rack was used freely to open his lips. How much he suffered may be gathered from a few words which he used to a Mr. Walpole, who was one of his examiners.

The coun-
cil gene-
rally refuse
to connect
themselves
with the
prosecu-
tion.

'Tell me, I pray you, Mr. Walpole,' he said, 'if the council may rack me, or put me to torment, after the time I am condemned, or no?'

* Although they be promised by your means to move the Queen's Majesty to be gracious lady to them, they know that it is not so meant; but to suck out of others all ye may, and yet thereby to have no mercy

shewed.—Thomas White to the Council: *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. vii.

† Robert Swift to Lord Shrewsbury: *Lodge's Illustrations*, vol. i.

CH. 34. ‘They may,’ Walpole answered, ‘if it shall
A.D. 1556. please them.’

April. ‘Then,’ said Throgmorton, ‘I fear I shall be
 Throgmor-
 ton will not put to it again; and, I will assure you, it is
 yield,
 either to
 torture or
 promise of
 pardon. terrible pain.’*

When torture would not answer, promises were tried, and promises apparently of an emphatic kind.

‘I pray you, pray for me,’ Throgmorton said to his brother prisoners; ‘for I shall not be long with you. I cannot live without I should be the death of a number of gentlemen; and therewithal the said Throgmorton recited a story of the Romans, commending much an old man that was taken prisoner by the enemy, whom the Romans would have redeemed with a great number of young men, which would have been much more worth to the Romans; but this old man would in no case agree thereto, but received his death at the enemies’ hand very patiently, considering his old years, and also what profit these young men should be to the Romans.’†

High of-
fenders are
discovered,
but the
court durst
not touch
them. The inquiry lasted till June, and much was learnt from those who had not Throgmorton’s courage. Matters came out implicating Lord Bray and Lord Delaware. Lord Bray was arrested and examined; Lord Delaware was tried and found guilty. But they were powerful, and had powerful friends.‡ The court were forced to content themselves with smaller game. Suc-

* Walpole’s Deposition: *MS. LODGE’S Illustrations*, vol. viii.

† Peckham’s Confession: *MS. Ibid.*, vol. viii.

‡ Swift to Lord Shrewsbury: *Ibid.*, vol. i.; MACHYN’S *Diary*.

cessive batches of the conspirators were des- CH. 34.
patched as their confessions were exhausted or
despaired of. Throgmorton, silent to the last,
was sentenced on the 21st of April, and suffered
on the 28th. On the 19th of May, Captain A.D. 1556.
Stanton was hanged; on the 2nd of June, Derick
followed—his cowardice had not saved him—
with Rosey and Bedyll. On the 7th of July, Sir
Henry Peckham was disposed of, and with him
John Daniel, who was guilty, if not of worse,
yet of having concealed machinations dangerous
to the State.*

April.

The rest
are suc-
cessively exe-
cuted.

* Daniel was supposed, like Throgmorton, to know more than he had told; and to quicken his confession he was confined in a dungeon, of which he has left his own description in an appeal to the mercy of the commissioners. ‘I beseech your honours be good to me,’ he wrote, ‘for I am a sick man, laid here in a dungeon where I am fain to do — and — in the place that I do lie in, and if I do lie here all this night, I think I shall not be alive to-morrow. Mr. Binifield [perhaps an examiner] as he cometh to me is ready to cast his gorge, so he saith; and I have no light all day so much as to see my hands perfectly. Pity me, for God’s sake!—Your honours’ footstool, John Daniel. Good Master of the House, good Mr. Controller, good Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, good Mr. Englefield, good Mr. Waldegrave!’

Again, in another letter, he writes:—

‘For God’s sake, be my

honourable masters, and rid me out of this dungeon, for I do lie here a man sore pained with the stone, and among the newts and spiders. For the love of God, I ask it; for I do all things in the place that I do lie in. My good and honourable masters, for God’s sake, be good to me, and consider that I did never give my consent to do no evil. Good Mr. Englefield, consider my meaning, and be good master to me, and consider the place I lie in, and the pain of the stone.’—
Daniel’s Confessions: MS. Mary, Domestic, vol. viii.

The effect, however, apparently was what the examiners desired. A note of the council remains to the effect that

‘Daniel being yesterday removed to a worse lodging, beginneth this day to be more open and plain than he hath been, whereby we perceive he knoweth all, and we trust and think verily he will utter the same.’—
Privy Council Minutes: Ibid.

CH. 34. But the danger did not pass off with the execu-

^{A.D. 1556. May.} A. D. 1556. execution of a few youths. An inveterate conviction had taken hold of men of all ranks, that Philip The king will not re- was coming over with an army to destroy English turn to England, liberty. Paget went to Flanders to entreat him and the queen loses control over herself to come back unattended, to dispel the alarm by his presence, and to comfort the queen; but

Paget returned with a letter instead of Philip, and the poor queen looked ten years older on the receipt of it. She durst not stir abroad to face the execration with which the people now received her. She passed her time in frenzied extremities of passion, ‘because she could neither enjoy the presence of her husband, nor the affection of her subjects; and dreading every moment that her life might be attempted by her own attendants.’* A fleet was fitted out in the Channel. A bishop in the queen’s confidence was asked the reason by another bishop. ‘To overawe rebels,’ was the answer, ‘and to carry off Elizabeth into Flanders or Spain.’† The government was carried on entirely by the legate and the small knot of Catholic fanatics who had adhered to the queen’s fortunes in the late reign. Lord William Howard told Noailles that he and the other lords lived in perpetual dread and suspicion; if his honour would allow him, he would throw up his office, and retire, with

The Lords' are discontented.

* Estant en continual fureur de ne pouvoir jouir de la presence de son mary ny de l'amour de son peuple, et dans une fort grande peur d'estre offendee de sa propre vie par aul- cungs des siens.—Noailles to the King of France, May 7: *Am- bassades*, vol. v.

† Same to Montmorency, April 21: *Ibid.*

those who had gone before him, as a poor gentleman, to France. CH. 34.

The general suffering was aggravated by a likelihood of famine. The harvest of 1555 had failed, and bread, with all other articles of food, was daily rising. The conspiracy exasperated the persecution, which was degenerating into wholesale atrocity. On the 23rd of April, six men were burnt at Smithfield; on the 28th, six more were burnt at Colchester; on the 15th of May, an old lame man and a blind man were burnt at Stratford-le-Bow. In the same month three women suffered at Smithfield, and a blind boy was burnt at Gloucester. In Guernsey, a mother and her two daughters were brought to the stake. One of the latter, a married woman with child, was delivered in the midst of her torments, and the infant just rescued was tossed back into the flames.* Reason, humanity, even common prudence, were cast to the winds. On the 27th of June, thirteen unfortunates, eleven men and two women, were destroyed together at Stratford-le-Bow, in the presence of twenty thousand people.† A schoolmaster, in Norfolk, in July read an inflammatory proclamation in a church. He and three others were instantly hanged. Ferocity in the government and lawlessness in the people went hand in hand. Along the river bank stood rows of gibbets, with bodies of pirates swinging from them in the

A.D. 1556.
May.
Prospect of
famine.

The perse-
cution be-
comes fu-
rious,

And the
Govern-
ment falls
into whole-
sale fer-
ocity.

* FOXE. This hideous story was challenged by Harding, the controversialist, in the next reign. He was unfortunate in calling

attention to it, for the case was inquired into, and the account was found too certainly true.

† MACHYN'S *Diary*.

CH. 34. wind. In the autumn, sixty men were sentenced
 A.D. 1556. July. to be hanged together, for what crime is unknown, at Oxford;* and as a symbol at headquarters of the system of the administration, four corpses of thieves hung as a spectacle of terror before the very gates of St. James's Palace.†

A holocaust, intended at Smithfield, is prevented by the attitude of the people.

Pole checks Bonner's imprudence.

But both Pole and Bonner continue their cruelties when they can venture with safety.

On the 20th of August, twenty-three men and women were brought to London from Colchester, tied in a string with ropes to furnish another holocaust. A thousand people cheered them through the streets as they entered the city; and the symptoms of disorder were so significant and threatening, that Bonner wrote to Pole for instructions how he should proceed. The government was alarmed; 'the council, not without good consideration,' decided that it would be dangerous to go on with the executions; and Pole, checking Bonner's zeal, allowed the prisoners to escape for the time, under an easy form of submission which they could conscientiously take. They were dismissed to their homes, only, however, for several of them to be slaughtered afterwards, under fresh pretexts, in detail;‡ and Pole took an occasion, as will be presently seen, of reprimanding the citizens of London for their unnatural sympathy with God's enemies. That he had no objection to these large massacres, when they could be ventured safely, he showed himself in the following year, when fourteen heretics, of both sexes, were burnt in two days at Canterbury and Maidstone.§

* MACHYN.

† See their stories: FOXE, vol. viii.

‡ Ibid.

§ FOXE, vol. viii.

Why, it may well be asked, did not the lords ^{CH. 34.} and gentlemen of England rise and trample ^{A.D. 1557.} down the perpetrators of these devilish enormities? It is a grave question, to which, nevertheless, some tolerable answer is possible.

On the 21st of January, 1557, the English ambassador in Paris wrote in cypher to Sir William Petre, of 'a matter' which he desired should not be communicated to the queen, 'lest it should disquiet her.' A refugee had informed him, 'that there was a great conspiracy in hand ^{A second conspiracy, separate from the first, is reported as being held in suspense over the queen,} against the queen, which without doubt would deprive her of her estate.' He had asked for names, but these his informant would not give, saying merely, 'the best of England were in it,' and 'such a number agreed thereupon, that it was impossible but that it would take effect.' There was no chance of discovery; 'the matter had been in hand for a year or thereabouts,' yet no one 'had uttered a word of it:' should it become known, the conspirators were so strong that the catastrophe would only be precipitated. They would have moved already, 'but for one man who had stayed them for a while.'

Entreaties for more explicitness were fruitless. 'By no means,' wrote Wotton, 'would he name any man unto me; but only said that the chiefest of them were such as had never offended the Queen's Highness before; that the matter should begin in the evening, and the next day by eight in the morning it should be done.'

The queen was not to be killed; at least, not immediately. 'They will not kill her,' the man

CH. 34. said, ‘but deprive her of her estate, and then
 A.D. 1556. might she chance to be used as she used Queen Jane;’ and he added, ‘*that they who went about the matter would not agree that any foreign prince should have any meddling in it; neither Dudley nor any of the English gentlemen in France were privy to the matter.*’*

With which
France has
no con-
nexon.

That any such combination as this letter described, ever really menaced Mary’s throne, cannot be affirmed with certainty. The last two sentences, however, point to the difficulty which had embarrassed all attempts which had been hitherto ventured. The vice of the previous conspiracies had been the intrigues with France. The better order of English statesmen refused to connect themselves with movements which would give the Court of Paris a dangerous influence in England, and would entitle the French king to press the claims of the Queen of Scots upon the English crown. If there was truth in the refugee’s story, if there really was a conspiracy of ‘the best of England,’ clear of all such mischievous elements, it must have consisted of the body of the nobility, whom Lord William Howard described to Noailles as equally dissatisfied with himself. The heresy acts had been restored by the help of the bishops against the sustained opposition of the majority of the lay peers. For the hundred and fifty years during which those acts had been upon the Statute Book, they had ex-

* Wotton to Petre, cypher: *French MSS., Mary*, bundle 13.
State Paper Office.

pressed the general feeling of the country, yet CH. 34.
during all that time, fewer persons had suffered —————
under them than had been sacrificed during the A.D. 1556.
last twelve months. Having failed to destroy Reasons for
her sister, having been unable to alter the suc- the anxiety
cession, the queen was desperate; the Spaniards of the lay
peers; were watching their opportunity to interfere by
force, and would want no encouragement which
she could give them; and every honest English
statesman must have watched her with the most
jealous distrust. Yet, on the other hand, she
was childless; her life must necessarily soon
close by the course of nature, and with her
life the tyranny would end. If force was at-
tempted, she would not fall without a struggle; Yet rea-
the clergy would stand by her, and all whom the sons, also,
clergy could influence. Philip would have the why they
pretext, for which he was longing, for sending should not
Spanish troops; and though liberty might and interfere
would prevail in the end, thousands of lives till the last
might be sacrificed, and Elizabeth's succession moment.
would be stained. The appeal to strength was,
and is, the last to which good men will allow
themselves to be driven. The Lords understood
one another: they would not be the first to com-
mence; but if an attempt were made to carry off
Elizabeth, or to throw on land a single Spanish
battalion, they would know how to act.

Meantime, Dudley, Ashton, Horsey, the bro-
thers Tremayne, and 'divers others,' were safe in
France, and were hospitably entertained there.
In England they were proclaimed traitors. At
Paris they were received openly at court. The

CH. 34.

A.D. 1556.

May.

The queen demands
the refugees, whom
Henry provides with
ships.

Courtenay
is sent for
to join
them, but
dies.

queen wrote to Wotton with her own hand, commanding him to demand their surrender.* She sent for Noailles, and required that ‘those wretches, those heretics, those traitorous execrable villains’ who had conspired against her throne should be placed in her hands.† Henry, with unembarrassed coolness, promised Wotton that they should be apprehended, while he furnished them with ships, which they openly fitted for sea at the mouth of the Seine; and one of their number, Henry Killegrew, went to Italy to look for Courtenay, who was in honourable exile there, to entreat him to put himself at their head. Courtenay promised to come, so Killegrew reported on his return;‡ his name would have given them strength, his presence weakness; but if he really thought again of mixing himself in conspiracies his intentions were frustrated. The last direct heir of the noblest family in England died at the end of the summer, of an ague caught among the lagoons at Venice.§ The refugees, however, could do their work

* The Queen to Wotton : *MS. France*, bundle 13.

count of it may not be unwelcome.

† Gens abominable, hérétiques et traistres villains et exécrables.—Noailles to the King, May 7 : *Ambassades*, vol. v.

On the 18th of September, Peter Vannes, the English resident at Venice, wrote to the queen from Padua :—

‡ Wotton to Petre, cypher : *French MSS.* State Paper Office, bundle 13.

‘It hath pleased Almighty God, as the Author of all goodness, and as One that doth nothing in vain, to call the Earl of Devonshire to his mercy, even about the hour, or little more or less, that I am writing of this present; and being very sorry to trouble your Highness with this

§ His death was of course attributed by the world to poison. Courtenay’s birth, and the fortune which was so nearly thrust upon him, give his fate a kind of interest, and an authentic ac-

without Courtenay. The Killegrews, the Tre- CH. 34.
maynes, young Stafford, and many more, put to A.D. 1556.

kind of news, yet forasmuch as the providence of God must be fulfilled in all things, I shall somewhat touch his sickness till the hour of death. True it is that he, as I have perceived, for the avoiding all suspicion from himself, hath chosen a life more solitary than needed, saving the company of certain gentlemen, Venetians, among whom he was much made of. It chanced him upon three weeks agone, for his honest recreation, to go to a place called Lio, a piece of an island five miles from Venice, for to see his hawks fly upon a wasted ground, without any houses; and there he was suddenly taken with a great tempest of wind and rain, insomuch that his boat, called [a] gondola, could not well return to Venice; and he was fain, for his succour, to take a certain searcher's boat that by chance there arrived, and so to Venice he came, being body and legs very thinly clothed, refusing to change them with any warmer garment. And upon that time, or within few days after, as he told me, had a fall upon the stairs of his house, and after seeming to himself to be well, and finding no pain, took his journey hither unto Padua; and for the avoiding of the weariness of the water, and the labouring of horses, chose the worse way coming; and so by certain waggons called coaches, very shaking and uneasy to my judgment, came to Padua upon Saturday at night. Of whose

coming, being advertised, I went to visit him on the morrow after, and found him very weak; and since that time he began to appear every day worse and worse, avoiding friends' visitations; and drew himself to the counsel of two of the best physicians of this town, and entered into a continued hot ague, sometimes more vehement than at another; and as I have seen and heard, he hath been always diligently attended. I have charged his servants in your name, and as they will avoid your displeasure, that a true inventory shall be made of such small movables as he had here, and that specially all kind of writings and letters that he had either here or at Venice, shall be put in assurance, abiding for your commandment. I am now about to see the order of his burial, with as much sparing and as much honour as can bedone; for the merchantmen on whom, by your Grace's commandment, he had a credit of 3 or 4 thousand crowns, are not as yet willing to disburse any money without a sufficient discharge of my Lord of Devonshire's hand, the doing whereof is past. I shall shift to see him buried as well as I can; notwithstanding, I beseech your Grace not to be discontented with me that I am at the next door to go a begging.

' My said Lord of Devonshire is dead, in mine opinion a very good Christian man; for after that I had much exhorted him to take his Communion and rites of the Church as a thing

CH. 34. sea with three or four vessels, and treated all
 A.D. 1556. Spaniards with whom they could fall in as their
 August. natural enemies. Before the summer was out,
 The refu- they had ‘taken divers good prizes,’ and ‘did
 gees go to trust they should take more.’ ‘In case the
 sea, and worst fell, the gain thereof would find them all;’
 make war upon the and on the 4th of August it was reported that
 Spaniards. they had taken a fort ‘on one of her Majesty’s
 islands,’ probably in Scilly, where the dangerous
 and intricate navigation placed them beyond
 risk of capture. Making war on their own ac-
 count, half as pirates, half as crusaders, these
 youthful adventurers seized the Spanish caracks
 on their way to Flanders, sailed openly with
 their prizes into Rochelle or La Hogue, sold
 them, and bought arms and ammunition. Their

most necessary, and by whose means God giveth unto His chosen people health, both bodily and ghostly: he answered me, by broken words, that he was well content so to do; and in token thereof, and in repentance for his sins, he lift up his eyes and knocked himself upon the heart; and after I had suffered him to pause a good while, I caused the Sacrament to be brought, and after the priest’s godly exhortation, he forced himself to receive the blessed Communion; but his tongue had so stopped his mouth, and his teeth so clove together, that in no wise he could receive that same; and after this sort this gentleman is gone, as I do not doubt, to God his mercy.

‘I shall not let to say to your

Grace, that since his coming to Padua, by way of communication, he showed unto me, that it had been reported unto him that some one had said that he was better French than English, and if God did recover him and send him his health so that he might come to the knowledge of his misreporter, he was minded to try that quarrel by the sword.’

In a letter written a few days later, Vannes said that, in consequence of rumours having gone abroad that the earl had been poisoned, the Podesta, at his request, had ordered the body to be opened, and examined by physicians, which was accordingly done.—Peter Vannes to the Queen: *Venetian MSS.* State Paper Office.

finances were soon prosperous. Wild spirits of CH. 34.
all nations—Scots, English, French, whoever —————
chose to offer—found service under their flag. A.D. 1556. August.
They were the first specimens of the buccaneer-
ing chivalry of the next generation—the germ
out of which rose the Drakes, the Raleighs, the
Hawkinses, who harried the conquerors of the
New World.

In vain Wotton protested. The French king affected to be sorry. The Constable said that France was large; things happened which ought not to happen, yet could not be helped; the adventurers should be put down, if possible. ‘These men brought nothing with them out of England,’ Wotton doggedly replied, ‘and were in such good credit with the people in France that nobody would lend them a shilling, and yet had they found ships which they had armed, and manned with good numbers of soldiers. What would the Queen’s Highness think?’

The French court, in affected deference to such complaints, armed vessels, which they pretended were to pursue the privateers to their nest; but, as Wotton ascertained, they were intended really to act as their consorts.*

It was plain that the French king did not anticipate any long continuance to the truce of Vaucelles. In fact, Paul IV., whose schemes in Italy that truce had arrested, had succeeded in inducing him to break it. Lest his oath should

* Letters of Wotton to the Queen: *French MSS.* bundle 13.
State Paper Office.

CIT. 34. make a difficulty, the Pope had an ever-ready dispensation; and Paul's nephew, Cardinal Caraffa, came to Paris in July to make arrangements for the expulsion of the Spaniards from Naples.*

A.D. 1556.
August.

To insure Henry the continued support of the Papacy, Paul undertook to create French cardinals on so large a scale as would give him the command of the next election. Henry, in spite of the entreaties of Montmorency, promised, on his side, to send an army to Paul's support; and the Pope, without waiting for the arrival of the French troops, seized the Duchy of Paleano, and excommunicated the Colonnas, as the friends of the enemies of the Holy See. Scarcely caring to look for a pretext, he declared the Spanish Prince deprived of the kingdom of Naples; and himself attempted to put in force his sentence against the Duke of Alva, who was acting there as Philip's viceroy.

Paul de-
clares
Philip de-
prived of
the king-
dom of
Naples.

War be-
tween Phi-
lip and the
Pope.

The event had thus actually arrived, of which the expectation the year before had appeared so alarming. The most orthodox sovereign in Europe found himself forced into war with his spiritual father. The parent was become insane; the faithful child was obliged, in consequence, to place him under restraint, with as much tenderness and respect as the circumstances permitted. To the English council Philip explained the hard necessity under which he was placed.†

* Wotton to Petre: MS. | Ibid. Compare SIR JAMES MEL-

VILLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 38.

| † 'Pontifex, tantum abest ut
mollissimis obsequiis atque offi-
ciis acqueiverit, non potuit tan-

The Duke of Alva crossed the Neapolitan frontier into the States of the Church with twelve thousand men, taking the towns that lay in his way; and protesting while he did it that he was the most faithful servant of the Holy See. Individually a pious Catholic, officially a military machine, Alva obeyed orders with mechanical inflexibility, and, irresistible as destiny, advanced towards Rome. The College of Cardinals, who remembered the occupation of the city by Bourbon's army, implored the Pope to have pity on them. The Pope had been too precipitate in commencing operations without waiting for the French. He was forced to submit his pride, and sue for an armistice, to which Alva, in the moderation of conscious strength, consented.

CH. 34.
A.D. 1556.
September.
The Duke
of Alva
advances
on Rome,
and the
Pope sue
for an
armistice.

The French, on the other hand, were pre-

dem sibi obtemperare quin pleno Cardinalium Senatu Regni Neapolitani privationem per suum fiscalem proposuerit, cum nullius nos in ipsum Pontificem, aut sedem apostolicam contumaciae, summae quin potius uti fas est observantiae nobis simus consci, ac ne in præfractâ quidem ejus obstinatione a solitis officiis destitutum est, doneo cum nullâ molliore ope malum posset mitigari; magisque indies ac magis propagaretur, videretque Albus Dux copias eum undique contrahere, apparatum facere, tempus ducere, quoscumque principes qui buscumque conditionibus sollicitare, ut ingruenti rerum omnium ruinæ occurreret, ad hoc extreum

remedium invitus coactusque descendit. Quæ omnia quanquam vobis comperta quando in eorum mentionem per vestras litteras incidistis, per nos etiam vobis significanda duximus; atque id præterea eæ temperantia, ac modestia, hoc bellum a duce geri atque administrari, ut nihil nisi orbis Christiani tranquillitas, sedis apostolicae dignitas, et nostrorum regnorum securitas procuretur, neque ullum nos ex hoc bello gloriæ aucupemur, summum potius dolorem animique segritudinem percipiamus.' — Philip to the English Council: *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. ix. State Paper Office.

CH. 34. paring to strike a blow in a quarter where as yet they were unlooked for.

A.D. 1556.

September. The pastoral anxieties of the English legate had extended to Calais, where the Protestants

The perse-
cution of
the Pro-
testants at
Calais pro-
vokes a
conspiracy.

were in considerable numbers. A commission was sent thither which proceeded with the usual severities,* and the sufferers, or those among the garrisons in Calais and Guisnes, whose sympathy with the Reformation was stronger than their patriotism, placed themselves in correspondence with Sir Henry Dudley, at Paris. The pay of the troops was long in arrear, and they were all mutinous and discontented. Neither Guisnes, Hammes, nor Calais itself were provisioned for more than three or four weeks; and the refugees, caring only

A plan is formed, in concert with the refugees at Paris, to betray Calais to the French.

to revenge themselves on Mary, were laying a train in connexion with several of the 'chiefest officers' in the three fortresses, to betray them into the hands of France. The existence of a conspiracy became known by accident to some one, who placed Wotton on his guard; and Wotton, by vigilance and by the help of spies, ascertained gradually the nature of the scheme.

In the beginning of October he discovered that Senarpont, the governor of Boulogne, was silently increasing the garrison of the Boulonnais. Then he heard of troops collecting at Rouen, of large preparations of military stores,

* 'There is a faction or dis-
sension within Calais for reli-
gion's sake, whereof it seemeth
that a commission of late sent
thither, I cannot tell whether

somewhat rigorously used, may
have given occasion.'—Wotton
to the Queen, cypher: *French*
MSS. bundle 13, State Paper
Office.

of sappers' and miners' tools, and 'great files, CH. 34.
which would cut in two without noise the
largest [harbour] chains.* Next, it seemed
that the leader of the adventurous party, which
fourteen years before 'took the town of Ma-
rano by practise and subtlety,' was in Calais in
disguise. Finally, he learnt that Henry him-
self was going to Rouen, to conduct the enterprise
in person.

A.D. 1556.
October.
The French
court make
secret pre-
parations.

The disaffection had penetrated so deeply into
the English garrisons that caution was required
in dealing with them; while for some weeks
either the queen disbelieved the danger, or the
council took no steps to obviate it. The Ca-
tholic clique had, in fact, not a soldier among
them, and possibly knew not in which direction
to turn. The honour of his country at last
recalled Lord Pembroke to the public service in
time to save Calais for a few more months.

By the middle of November eighteen ensigns
of French infantry and a thousand horse were
at Abbeville. Dudley, with the refugee fleet,
was in readiness to blockade the harbour, while
Henry was to march upon the town. If
possible, he would find the gates open: at
all events he would meet with no protracted re-
sistance. But the move had been anticipated.
Reinforcements and supplies were sent from
England, money was despatched to pay up the
arrears of the troops, and Pembroke himself

But rein-
forcements
are sent in
time from
England,
under com-
mand of
Pembroke,
and Calais
is saved for

* Wotton to the Queen, cypher: *French MSS.* bundle 13, State a time.
Paper Office.

CH. 34. went over in command.* No open inquiry was
 A.D. 1556.
 November. ventured, but the suspected persons were quietly removed. The French withdrew, and the queen's government, through the bad patriotism of the refugees, recovered a momentary strength.

Second failure of the harvest, and famine.

The faint good fortune came opportunely; for in England the harvest had again failed, and the threat of famine had become the reality. On the 23rd of December malt was sold in London for forty shillings a quarter, and white flour at six shillings a bushel. The helpless remedy was attempted of crying up the base money, but the markets answered only by a further rise.† In the utter misery of the people, some were feeding upon acorns; some, in London, more piteously, left their infant children at the doors of their wealthy neighbours, to save them from starvation.

A famine was considered to be the immediate work of Heaven, and to be sent for an immediate moral cause. And yet the monasteries were rising from their ruins. Westminster was again an abbey. Feckenham was installed abbot on the 29th of November, with the ancient ceremonies, and walked in sad procession round the cloisters at the head of his friars.‡ The remnant of the monks of Glastonbury had crawled back into the

* The Council to Philip, November 22nd: *MS. Domestic, Mary*, vol. ix.

† MACHYN.

‡ The new monks did not do credit to their restoration. Anne of Cleves died the next year, and lay in state in the abbey.

'The 22nd of August,' says

Machyn, 'was the herse of my Lady Anne of Cleves taken down at Westminster, the which the monks by night had spoiled of all velvet cloth, arms, banners, penselles, of all the majesty and valence, the which was never seen afore so done.'—*Diary*, p. 148.

ruins of their home. The queen had spared no effort and no sacrifice where her own power extended; and she had exhorted and advised where she was unable to act. Yet enough had not been done. In Ireland, indeed, the Catholic spirit had life in it. The Earl of Desmond had allowed no stone to be thrown down from the religious houses which had fallen to his share in the distribution. He had sheltered and supported the monks in the bad times, he now replaced them at his private cost ;* and the example was telling among the chiefs. But in England, unfortunately, the lay owners of the Church lands, orthodox and unorthodox alike, were hopelessly impenitent.

This, perhaps, was one cause of God's displeasure—the heretics were another; the heretics, and the sympathy with heresy displayed by the inhabitants of London, which had compelled the temporary release of the prisoners sent up from Essex.

It has been mentioned that the legate took occasion to admonish the citizens for their behaviour.† In the present or the following year he issued a pastoral letter, laying before them, and before the educated inhabitants of England generally, their duty at the present crisis; with an explanation, not entirely accurate, of the

* Desmond to the Queen : *Irish MSS. State Paper Office.* it will be December, 1556, or December, 1557, as the three years are calculated from the restoration of Orthodoxy, or from the reunion with Rome.
† 'Three years and more after the restoration of the people to the Church,' the legate says in the body of the letter. The date of

A.D. 1556.
November.
The queen
restores the
religious
houses.
The Irish
chiefs fol-
low the
example.

CH. 34. spirit in which the Church had hitherto dealt with them. ‘That by license and dispensation,’
 A.D. 1556.
 December. he said, ‘you do enjoy, and keep, and possess Pole ad-
 monishes such goods and lands of the Church as were the citizens found in your hands, this was done of the of London of their Church your mother’s tenderness unto you, duties. considering your imbecillity and weakness after so sore a sickness that you had in the schism, at the which time your appetite served you to no meat, but to that fruit that came from the lands of the Church; and by that you lived, which she was content you should keep still, and made promise it should not be taken from you. And so it was left in your hand, as it were an apple in a child’s hand given by the mother, which she, perceiving him to feed too much of, and knowing it should do him hurt if he himself should eat the whole, would have him give her a little piece thereof, which the boy refusing, and whereas he would cry out if she would take it from him, letteth him alone therewith. But the They must give back some part of the goods of the Church, or else it may be the worse for them. father, her husband, coming in, if he shall see how the boy will not let go one morsel to the mother that hath given him the whole, she asking it with so fair means, he may peradventure take the apple out of the boy’s hand, and if he cry, beat him also, and cast the apple out of the window.’

The maternal tenderness, under this aspect of the secularization, had been more weak than wise.

‘As the English laity had dishonoured the ministers of the Church above all people,’ continued the legate, ‘so must they now honour them

above all people, remembering Christ's words— CH. 34.
‘He that despiseth you despiseth Me.’ They
must obey the priests, therefore, implicitly; they
must be careful to pay their tithes honestly;
what they denied their priests they denied their
God; and they must show their repentance espe-
cially where they had especially offended, ‘touch-
ing the injuries they had done to the ministers
of God, whom God had set over them, to be
honoured as they would their natural father.’

‘And this,’ he said, coming to the heart of the matter, ‘this you cannot do if you favour here-
tics, who being the very enemies of God and man, yet specially their enmity extendeth against priests. Here is another point that you must
show worthy of a repentant mind: that whereas
you have sore offended God by giving favour to
heretics, now temper your favour under such
manner that if you can convert them by any ways
unto the unity of the Church, then do it, for it is
a great work of mercy. But if ye cannot, and ye
suffer or favour them, there cannot be a work of
greater cruelty against the commonwealth than
to nourish or favour any such. *For be you as-*
sured, there is no kind of men so pernicious to the
commonwealth as they be; there are no thieves, no
murderers, no adulterers, nor no kind of treason, to
be compared to theirs, who, as it were, undermining
the chief foundation of all commonwealths, which is
religion, maketh an entry to all kinds of vices in the
most heinous manner. . . . ‘You specially of the
City of London, you being the first that received
the fruit of grace in the new plantation, the seed

A.D. 1556.
December.
They must
obey their
priests.

And they
must show
no more
favour to
the here-
tics, who
are the
greatest
enemies of
God and
man.

CH. 34. of benediction being first cast upon you, to make
 you a ground to bring forth all fruit of sanctity
 and justice; shall I say, that after all this
 done, more briars and thorns hath grown here
 among you than in all the realm besides? I
 cannot say so, nor I will not; albeit it might so
 seem, for a greater multitude of these brambles
 and briars were cast in the fire here among you
 than in any place besides; but many of them
 being grown in other places, and brought in and
 burned among you, may give occasion that you
 have a worse name without your desert. The
 thing standeth not in the name—bethink you
 yourselves how it standeth. Wherefore
 cometh this, that when any heretic shall go to
 execution, he shall lack no comforting of you,
 and encouraging to die in his perverse opinion?
 that when he shall be put in prison he shall
 have more cherishing? As it is now, this
 may not be suffered. For their boldness
 in their death, it is small argument of grace to
 be in them; Christ himself showing more heavi-
 ness and dolour at his dying hour than did the
 thieves that hung beside him, which did blas-
 pheme Christ, setting nought by him, specially
 one of them, showing no further fear. So do
 the heretics at their deaths like the blas-
 phemer.*

The bold-
ness of the
heretics in
their death
is no evi-
dence of
God's
favour.

Cruel and savage as the persecution had be-
 come, it was still inadequate. The famine lasted,
 and therefore God was angry.

* Address of Cardinal Pole to the Citizens of London: STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. vi.

The new year opened with the appointment of CH. 34. a commission, consisting of Bonner, Thirlby, and twenty other peers, gentlemen, and canon lawyers, on whom the court could rely. 'Wicked persons' had invented slanders against the queen's person, and had sown 'pestilent heresies' in the realm. The queen, therefore, 'minding to punish such enormities,' and having especial trust in the wisdom of these persons, gave them power to institute inquiries at their pleasure into the conduct and opinions of every man and woman in all parts of the kingdom. The protection of the law was suspended. The commissioners might arrest any person at any place. Three of them were enough to form a court; and mayors, sheriffs, and magistrates were commanded to assist at their peril.

The object of the commission was 'to search And the
and find out' the sellers of heretical books, or law is arbit-
those who in any way professed heresy or taught trarily set
it; to ascertain who refused to attend mass, to aside to
walk in procession, to use holy water, or in any give the
way betrayed disrespect for the established religion. commission
Those who 'persisted in their bad scope.
opinions' were to be given up to their ordinary, to be punished according to law. The commissioners were themselves empowered to punish with fine or imprisonment those who yielded, or those whose offences were in the second degree, taking care to collect the fines which they inflicted, and to certify the Exchequer of their receipts. They were not embarrassed by a necessity of impanelling juries; they might call

CH. 34. juries if they pleased; they might use 'all other means and politic ways that they could devise.'

A.D. 1557.
February. No Spanish inquisition possessed larger or less tolerable powers; no English sovereign ever more entirely set aside the restrictions of the law.* The appointment of the commission was followed up by Pole in a visitation of the diocese of Canterbury. Persons were nominated to examine into the doctrines of the clergy; to learn whether those who had been married held communication with their wives; whether the names of those who had not been reconciled had been registered as he had ordered; and from every clergyman to ascertain the habits, beliefs, and opinions of every resident male or female in his parish.†

Other commissioners again were sent to the universities, with powers extending, not over the living only, but the dead.

Scot, Bishop of Chester, Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, and Christopherson, Master of Trinity and Bishop of Chichester, went in January to Cambridge, accompanied by Ormaneto, the Venetian, a confidential friend of the legate. Bucer and Fagius slept in St. Mary's and St. Michael's. The 10th of January, the day after the bishops' arrival, the two churches were laid under an interdict, as defiled with the presence of unhallowed bodies. On the 15th a summons was fixed to St. Mary's door, citing Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius,

Bucer and
Fagius are
cited from
their graves
to answer a
charge of
heresy.

* Royal Commission printed in *Foxe*, vol. viii. p. 301, and by BURNET in his *Collectanea*.

† Articles of the Visitation of Cardinal Pole: *Foxe*, vol. viii.

or any other who would plead on their behalf, to CH. 34.
make answer three days after, before the commis- A.D. 1557.
sion, on a charge of heresy. The court sate, and January.
no one appeared. The session was adjourned for
a week, while the colleges were searched, and
primers, Prayer-books, Bibles, or other inter-
dicted volumes, were hunted out and brought to-
gether. On the 26th the bishops met again; the
accused remained undefended, and the heresy was
taken to be proved; sentence was passed therefore,
that the bodies should be disinterred and burnt. Their
On the 6th of February the coffins were taken bodies are
out of the graves, and chained to a stake in the exhumed
market-place; the Bibles and Prayer-books were
heaped round them with a pile of faggots, and
books and bodies were reduced to ashes. and burnt.

Having purged Cambridge, Ormaneto proceeded to Oxford, on business of the same description.

Peter Martyr, when he came into residence as divinity professor at Christ Church, had outraged the orthodox party in the University by bringing a wife within the college walls; and Catherine Cathie, so the wife was named, had, like the wife of Luther, been a professed nun. She had died before Mary's accession, and had been buried in the cathedral. A process was now instituted against her similar to that at Cambridge.

An unforeseen difficulty occurred in the conduct of the prosecution. Catherine Cathie had lived quietly and unobtrusively; she had taught nothing and had written no books; and no evidence could be found to justify her conviction on a charge of heresy.

CH. 34.

A.D. 1557.
February.
The body
of Cath-
erine Cathie,
the wife of
Peter Mar-
tyr,

Ormaneto wrote to the legate for instructions; and as burning was not permissible, the legate replied that, ‘forasmuch as Catherine Cathie, of detestable memory, had called herself the wife of Peter Martyr, a heretic, although both he and she had before taken vows of religion; forasmuch as she had lived with him in Oxford in fornication, and after her death was buried near the sepulchre of the Holy Virgin St. Frideswide, Ormaneto should invite the Dean of the Cathedral to cast out the carcase from holy ground, and deal with it according to his discretion.’

Is dug up
at Oxford,
and thrown
into a cess-
pool;

Catherine Cathie, therefore, was dug up, taken out of her coffin, and flung into a cesspool at the back of the Dean’s house, and it was hoped that by this means the blessed St. Frideswide would be able to rest again in peace. Human foresight is imperfect; years passed and times changed; and Elizabeth, when she had the power to command, directed that the body should be restored to decent burial. The fragments were recovered with difficulty, and were about to be replaced in the earth under the floor of the cathedral, when some one produced the sacred box which contained the remains of St. Frideswide. Made accessible to the veneration of the faithful by Cardinal Pole, the relics had been concealed on the return of

Where,
however, it
does not
always re-
main.

heresy by some pious worshipper. They were brought out at the critical moment, and an instant sense of the fitness of things consigned to the same resting-place the bones of the wife of Peter Martyr. The married nun and the virgin saint were buried together, and the dust of the

two still remains under the pavement inextricably CH. 34.
blended.*

But Pole did not live to see the retribution. Convinced, if ever there was a sincere conviction in any man, that the course which he was pursuing was precisely that which God required of him, he laboured on in his dark vocation. Through the spring and summer the persecution, under the new commission, raged with redoubled fury.

The subject is one to which it will not be necessary to return, except with some brief details. In this place, therefore, shall be given an extract from a tract in circulation among the Protestants who were expecting death; and it may be judged, from the sentiments with which these noble-natured men faced the prospect of their terrible trial, with what justice Pole called them brambles and briars only fit to be burnt—criminals worse than thieves, or murderers, or adulterers.†

A.D. 1557.
February.

The perse-
cution is
more severe
than ever.

The prepa-
ration of
the Pro-
testants for
their fate.

* Wood's *Annals of the University of Oxford*.—The story is authentic. The following is the Roman Catholic version of it:—
'Oxonii sepulta fuerat digna Petro Martyre concubina, parthenonis et ipsa desertrix sacrilega ut ille coenobii. Ejus ossa refodi jusserat Maria et sterquilinio ut par erat condi. Nunc semulo plane sanitatis et virginitatis in Elizabetha ingenio requisita sunt inter sorores sterquilinii publici quarum fodissima pars erant et incredibili studio inventa purgata lota. In thecam eandem re-

ponuntur in qua S. Frideswide reliquias colebantur, et cum his adeo confusa ut nullā unquam possint diligentia secerni. Clauditur loculus et cubitalibus litteris hoc epitaphio decoratur 'hic jacet religio cum superstitione,' meliore titulo meretrici heretici pessimae concubinae; Proh nefas! deteriore ancillae Christi sanctissimae virginis, attributo.—Foxe, vol. viii.
Editor's note.

† An Excellent Epistle; translated from French into English by Thomas Pownell, with a preface, A.D. 1556. The copy from

CH. 34.

A.D. 1557.

February.

'The cross of persecution, if we will put childishness apart, and visibly weigh the worthiness thereof, is that sovereign, tried medicine that quencheth the daily digested poison of self-love, worldly pleasure, fleshly felicity. It is the only worthy poison of ambition, covetousness, extortion, uncleanness, licentiousness, wrath, strife, sedition, sects, malice, and such other wayward worms: it is the hard hammer that breaketh off the rust from the anchor of a Christian faith. O profitable instrument! O excellent exercise, that cannot be spared in a Christian life! with what alacrity of mind, with what desirous affection, with what earnest zeal, ought we to embrace this incomparable jewel, this sovereign medicine, this comfortable cup of tribulation.

'When a piece of ground is limited and bounded, it doth not only signify that it goeth no further, but also it tendeth and stretcheth to the bound. It is not enough to consider that we shall not pass the time that God hath limited and determined us to live, but we must assuredly persuade ourselves that we shall live as long as he hath ordained us to live; and so shall we do, in despite of all our enemies.

'And tell me, have men given us our life? No, forsooth. No more can they take it away from us. God hath given it, and God only doth take

which I make my extract is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; it is marked in the margin in various places with a finger ~~or~~ apparently almost as old as the printing; and this finger was perhaps drawn by some one whom the words were consoling or inspiriting in the hour of his own trial.

it away, for he is the Lord of death as well as CH. 34 of life; wherefore, when the appointed time of
our death is come, let us assure ourselves that it A.D. 1557.
February. is God only, and none other that doth kill us, for he saith, It is I that kill and make alive again.

‘ Let us follow the example of Christ, our Master, who seeing his death approaching, said to God, My Father, not as I will, but as thou wilt ; thy will be done, and not mine.—Let us offer then, unto God our Father, ourselves for a sacrifice, whose savour, although it be evil in the nose of the world, yet it is good and agreeable unto God, by Jesus Christ his Son, in the faith of whom we do dedicate and offer ourselves, when we perceive our hour to approach.

‘ And, whatsoever betide, let us not fear men ; let us not fear them. God doth inhibit and forbid us in the same, saying, by his prophet, Fear them not, for I am with you ; and seeing God doth forbid us to fear men, can we fear them without sin ? No truly. To what purpose do we fear them ? Men of themselves can do nothing, and if at any time they have any power, the same only cometh unto them from God, and is given unto them only to accomplish the will of God. But peradventure ye will say to me that Jesus Christ himself, in the time of his cross, did fear death, and therefore it is no marvel though we do fear it, in whom is no such perfection and constancy. Truly the flesh doth always abuse herself with the example of Jesus Christ ; she doth abuse it, for she cannot rightfully use it, inasmuch as the flesh is in all ways repugnant unto the

CH. 34. spirit and the good will of God. Forasmuch as
 _____ ye will herein follow Christ—well, I am con-
 A.D. 1557.
 February. tented—fear death, but fear it as he did fear it. If
 you will say that Christ had fear of death, con-
 sider the same also to be on such sort as the fear
 did not keep him back from the voluntary obedi-
 ence of his Father, and from saying, with un-
 feigned lips, Thy will be done.

Ye will say, We fear not death for any fear we
 have to be damned, neither for any diffidence that
 we have of eternal life; but we fear death for the
 human understanding that we have of the great
 pain that some do suffer in dying, and especially
 in dying by fire; for we suppose that pain to
 surmount all patience. O fond flesh, thy voice
 is always full of love of thyself, and of a secret
 diffidence and mistrust of the Almighty power,
 wisdom, and goodness of God.'

While the true heroes of the age were fighting
 for freedom with the weapons of noble suffering,
 the world was about to recommence its own
 battles, with which it is less easy to sympathize.
 The attempt on Calais having failed, it became a
 question at the French court, whether, after
 having given so just cause of quarrel to Eng-
 land, wisdom would not suggest an abandonment
 of the intention of recommencing the war with
 Philip. Noailles crossed to Paris in December,
 where the king questioned him whether Mary
 would be able to declare war. Noailles assured
 him, 'that out of doubt she would not; for if
 she should send those whom she trusted out of
 the realm, then would they whom she trusted

not, not fail to be busy within the realm.*^{CH. 34.}
Reassured by the ambassador's opinion, Henry ^{A.D. 1557.}
resumed his intentions. In March, the Duke of February.
Guise led an army into Italy. The Pope re-
covered courage, defied Alva, and again laid claim
to Naples; and it was to be seen now whether
Noailles was right,—whether the English people
would unite with the court to resent the French
king's conduct sufficiently to permit Mary at last
to join in the quarrel.

The French
send an
army into
Italy, and
war recon-
mences be-
tween Phi-
lip and the
Pope.

Philip, anxious and hopeful, paid England the respect of returning for a few weeks, and in the same month of March came over to sue to the council in person. The affair at Calais was a substantial ground for a rupture, but the attack, though intended, had not been actually made. The story might seem, to the suspicions of the country, to have been invented by the court; and, in other respects, Mary's injuries were not the injuries of the nation. The currency was still prostrate; the people in unexampled distress. The Flanders debts were as heavy as ever, and the queen had insisted on abandoning a fifth of her revenues. A war would inevitably be most unpopular. The attempt nevertheless was made. The queen produced the treaty of ^{The pretext} 1546, between England and the Empire; and, in ^{is the} compliance with its provisions, laid before the ^{treaty of} ^{1546;} Privy Council a proposal, if not to declare war with France, yet to threaten a declaration, in the event of an invasion of the Netherlands.

* Wotton to Petre: *French MSS.* bundle 13., State Paper Office.

CH. 34.

A.D. 1557.
March.

The Privy Council considered the queen's request: their conclusion was not what she desired.

But the obligation of that treaty been abrogated by the treaty of marriage, so far having been suspended by the treaty of marriage,

The treaty of 1546, the council replied, had as it might involve England in a war with France. 'Her Majesty would be unable to maintain a war, and, therefore, to say to the French king that she would aid her husband, according to the treaty, and not being able to perform it, indeed would be dishonourable, and many ways dangerous.' 'It was to be considered further, that, if by these means the realm should be drawn into war, the fault would be imputed to the King's Majesty.' 'The common people of the realm were at present many ways grieved —some pinched with famine, some for want of payment of money due to them, some discontented for matters of religion; and, generally, all yet tasting the smart of the late wars. It would be hard to have any aid of money of them. And in times past,' the council added, significantly, 'although the prince found himself able to make and maintain wars, yet the causes of those wars were opened for the most part in parliament.*'

The council declares that, for many reasons, the war may not be ventured.

Objections so decided and so just would have hardly been overcome, but for an injudicious enterprise of the refugees, under French auspices. The French court believed that, by keeping

* Answer of the Privy Council to the Queen's question whether England shall enter the wars with France.—*Swane MSS.* 1786, British Museum.

Mary in alarm at home, they would make it the less easy for her to join in the war. They mis-

A.D. 1557.
April.

took the disposition of the people, who resented and detested the interference of France in their concerns.

Among the exiles at the court of Paris, the most distinguished by birth, if not by ability, was Sir Thomas Stafford, Lord Stafford's second son, and grandson of the Duke of Buckingham who was put to death under Henry VIII. On the 27th of April, Wotton sent notice to the queen that Stafford had sailed from the mouth of the Seine with two vessels well manned and appointed. His destination was unknown; but it was understood that he intended to take some fortress on the English coast, and that the refugees, in a body, intended to follow him. Before Wotton's letter arrived, the scheme, such as it was, had been already executed. Stafford, with thirty Englishmen and one Frenchman, had surprised Scarborough Castle, and sent his proclamations through Yorkshire. He was come, he said, to deliver his country from foreign tyranny. He had sure evidence that an army of Spaniards was about to land, and that Philip intended to seize the crown by force. The queen, by her marriage with a stranger, had forfeited her own rights; and he himself, as the Protector of English liberty, intended to bestow the crown on the next rightful heir, and to restore all such acts, laws, liberties, and customs as were established in the time of that most prudent prince, King Henry VIII. 'He did not mind,' he thought it neces-

Sir Thomas
Stafford,
supported
by France,
seizes Scar-
borough
Castle,

And invites
the people
to save
England
from the
Spaniards.

CH. 34. sary to add, ‘to work his own advancement
 ——————
 A.D. 1557. touching possession of the crown, but to restore
 May. the blood and house of the Staffords to its
 pristine estate, which had been wrongfully sup-
 pressed by Cardinal Wolsey.*

The landing of Edward IV., at Ravenspurg,
 had made any wild enterprise seem feasible, and
 Stafford had counted on the notorious hatred of
 the people for the queen.

But if the Spaniards meditated a descent upon
 England, it was not by adventurers like the refu-
 gees that their coming would be either prevented
 or avenged; and the good sense of the country
 had determined once for all to give no coun-
 tenance to revolution supported by France. The
 occupation of Scarborough lasted two days, at the
 end of which Stafford and his whole party were
 taken by the Earl of Westmoreland. Thirty-two
 prisoners were sent to London; thirty-one were
 put to death; and the council reluctantly with-
 drew their opposition to the war. A hundred and
 forty thousand pounds were in the exchequer,
 being part of the subsidy granted by parliament
 to pay the crown debts.† With this the court

Stafford
 and his
 party are
 taken and
 executed.

The council
 consent to
 a declara-
 tion of war.

prepared to commence, trusting to fortune for the
 future. War was to be declared on the 7th of
 June, and, while seven thousand men were to

An army is
 sent across
 the Chan-
 nel, and
 the fleet
 goes to sea.

cross the Channel and join Pembroke in the Low
 Countries,‡ Howard was to cruise with the fleet

* Proclamation of Thomas
 Stafford, son to the Lord Henry,
 rightful Duke of Buckingham.
 —STYFFE's *Memorials*, vol. vi.
 p. 515.

† Exchequer Accounts: *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. xii. State Paper Office.

‡ Bitterly hating their work
 that they were sent upon, ‘the

in the Channel, to use his discretion in annoying CH. 34.
the enemy, and, if possible, to destroy the French
ships at Dieppe.*

A.D. 1557.
May.

Happy, however, in having succeeded in gratifying her husband, the queen brought at once upon herself a blow which she had little foreseen, and from a quarter from which an injury was most painful. In her desire to punish France for assisting her rebellious heretical subjects, she seemed to have forgotten that France had an ally beyond the Alps. No sooner did Paul IV. learn

Paul IV.,
to punish
the queen,
resolves to
cancel
Pole's com-
mission.

that England was about to declare on the side of Philip, than, under the plausible pretence that he could have no ambassador residing in a country with which he was at war, he resolved to gratify his old animosity against Cardinal Pole, and cancel his legation.

Sir Edward Karne, the English resident at Rome, waited on the Pope to remonstrate. He urged Paul to recollect how much the Holy See owed to the queen, and how dangerous it might be to re-open a wound imperfectly healed. The Pope at first was obstinate. At length he seemed so far inclined to yield as to say that, if the queen would herself expressly desire it, he would distinguish between her and her husband.† But the suspension of the legation, though not at first

people went to the musters, said Sir Thomas Smith, with kerchiefs on their heads—they went to the wars hanging down their looks; they came from them as men dismayed and forlorn.—
STEVENS'S *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, Appendix, p. 249.

* Instructions to the Lord Admiral: *MS. Mary, Domestic vol. xi.*
† Sir Edward Karne to the Queen: BURNET'S *Collectanea.*

Ch. 34 published, was carried through the Consistory; and so ingeniously was it worded, that not only the formal and especial commission was declared at an end, but the legatine privileges, attached by immemorial custom to the archbishopric of Canterbury, were cancelled with it. The Pope chose to leave himself without representative, ordinary or extraordinary, at the English court.

<sup>A.D. 1557.
May.</sup> The queen was in despair. Before Karne's letter reached her, she had heard what was impending, and she wrote a letter of passionate expostulation, in which she expatiated on her services to religion, and on the assistance which Pole had rendered her. She said that, in the unsettled condition of England, the presence of a legate with supreme authority was absolutely necessary; and she implored Paul to reconsider a decision so rash and so unkind.

<sup>The queen
expostu-
lates, and
entreats
the Pope to
reconsider
his inten-
tion.</sup> <sup>The council
protest
also,</sup> The council added their separate protest.* 'They had heard with infinite grief that the legate was to be taken from them. There was no precedent for the recall of a legate who had been once commissioned, unless from fault of his own; and for themselves, they were unconscious of having misconducted themselves in any way since the reconciliation. Cardinal Pole had been the saviour of religion. Before

* Printed by STRYPE, *Memoirs of the Reformation*, vol. vi. p. 476, and described by him as a letter of the Parliament. But at this time there was no Parliament in existence; the last had been dissolved eighteen months before, the next did not meet till the ensuing January.

The queen's letter is dated the 21st May, and the letter which I suppose to have been from the council, and another, said also to have been from 'the nobility,' were evidently written under the same impression, and, at the same time, when the idea of the recall was new.

his coming to England, the queen, with the best CH. 34.
intentions to do good, had failed to arrest the
growth of heresy, and the name of the Holy See
was held in detestation. Pole, the noblest and
most distinguished of the cardinals, had made
what was crooked straight; he had introduced
reforms everywhere; in a few years the wound
would heal, and all would be well. If, however,
he were now removed, the convalescent, deserted
too soon by his physician, would relapse, and be
worse than before. They entreated his Holiness,
therefore, to listen to them, and allow him to
remain. When they were reconciled, the Pope
then reigning had promised that the customary
privileges and immunities of the English nation
should be maintained. It was the special prerogative of English sovereigns to have a legate
perpetually resident in the person of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and from immemorial time there was no record of any archbishop to whom the legatine character had not attached as of right. The queen, who had risked her life for the faith of the Church, did not deserve that the first exception should be made in her disfavour. The bishops did not deserve it. The few who, in the late times of trial, had remained faithful, did not deserve it. Even if the queen would consent and give way, they would themselves be obliged to remonstrate.*

A.D. 1557.
May.
And expos-
tulate on
Pole's
merits to-
wards the
Holy See.

Legatine
authority
is imme-
morially
attached to
the Arch-
bishopric
of Canter-
bury.

Karne's letter produced a brief hope that the Pope would relent. But the partial promise of

* Letters to the Pope: STRYPE, vol. vi. pp. 476-482. The letters are not signed, nor does it appear by whom they were signed. It is not even certain that they were sent.

CH. 34. reconsidering his resolution had been extorted from Paul, while it was uncertain whether England would actually join in the conflict; the intended declaration of war had in the interval become a reality, and the Pope, more indignant than ever, chose to consider Pole personally responsible for the queen's conduct. Since a point

A.D. 1557.
May.
The Pope will leave a legate in England, but transfers the commission from Pole to Peto.

was made of the presence of a Papal legate in England, he was so far ready to give way; but so far only. The king left England the first week in July. Mary accompanied him to Dover, and there a Papal nuncio met her, bringing a commission by which Pole was reduced into the ordinary rank of archbishop; and the office of Papal representative was conferred on Peto, the Greenwich friar. For his objections to the present legate, the Pope gave the strange but wounding reason, that his orthodoxy was not above suspicion.

The queen will not permit Peto to act.
The queen, with something of her father's temper in her, ordered the nuncio to return to Calais till she could again communicate with Rome.

Pole submits, but protests in his own name and in the queen's. Pole interdicted Peto from accepting the commission, and desired Pole to continue to exercise his functions till the Pope had pronounced again a final resolution. Pole, however, was too faithful a child of the Church to disobey a Papal injunction; he relinquished his office, but he sent Ormaneto to Rome with his own entreaties and protests.

Never had a legate of the Holy See been treated as he was treated, he said; there was no precedent, therefore, to teach him how to act,

nor was ever charge of heresy urged with less occasion than against one whose whole employment had been to recover souls to Christ and his Church, and to cut off those that were obstinate as rotten members. His services to the Church, he passionately exclaimed, transcended far the services of any legate who had been employed for centuries, and, nevertheless, he found himself accused of heresy by the Vicar of Christ upon earth. Such an insult was unjust and unprovoked; and his Holiness should consider also what he was doing in bringing the queen, the mother of obedience, into heaviness and sorrow. Mother of obedience the Queen of England might well be called, whom God had made a mother of sons who were the joy of the whole Church. How was the Pope rewarding this sainted woman, when with the thunder of his voice he accused the king, her husband, of schism, and himself, the legate, of heresy?*

CH. 34.
A.D. 1557.
July.

Scarcely in his whole troubled life had a calamity more agitating overtaken Reginald Pole. To maintain the supremacy of the successor of St. Peter, he had spent twenty years in treason to his native country. He had held up his sovereign to the execration of mankind for rejecting an authority which had rewarded him with an act of enormous injustice; and to plead his conscience of innocence before the world against his spiritual sovereign, would be to commit the same crime of disobedience for which he

* Pole to the Pope: STRYPE's *Memorials*, vol. vi. p. 34, &c.

CH. 34. had put to death Cranmer, and laboured to set Europe on fire. Most fatal, most subtle retribution—for he knew that he was accused without cause; he knew that the Pope after all was but a peevish, violent, and spiteful old man; he knew it—yet even to himself he could not admit his own conviction.

A.D. 1557.
July.

Fortune, however, seemed inclined for a time to make some amends to Mary in the results of the war.

Philip invades France, and besieges St. Quentin.

The Constable takes the field to save the town,

The French usually opened their summer campaigns by an advance into Lorraine or the Netherlands. This year their aggressive resources had been directed wholly into Italy, and at home they remained on the defensive. Philip, with creditable exertion, collected an army of 50,000 men, to take advantage of the opportunity. Fixing his own residence at Cambray, he gave the command in the field to the Duke of Savoy; and Philibert, after having succeeded in distracting the attention of the enemy, and leading them to expect him in Champagne, turned suddenly into Picardy, and invested the town of St. Quentin. The garrison must soon have yielded, had not Coligny, the Admiral of France, broken through the siege lines and carried in reinforcements. Time was thus gained, and the Constable, eager to save a strong place, the possession of which would open to the Spaniards the road to Paris, advanced with all the force which he could collect, not meaning to risk a battle, but to throw provisions and further supplies of men into St. Quentin. Montmorency had

but 20,000 men with him. His levies consisted CH. 34. of the reserved force of the kingdom—princes, ^{A.D. 1557.} peers, knights, gentlemen, with their personal ^{August 10.} retinues, the best blood in France. It was such an army as that which lost Agincourt, and a fate not very different was prepared for it.

The Constable was forced by accident into an engagement, in which he had the disadvantage of position as well as of numbers. Mistaken movements caused a panic in the opening of the battle, and the almost instant result was a confused and hopeless rout. The Duke d'Enghien fell on the field with four thousand men; the Constable himself, the Duke de Montpensier, the Duke de Longueville, the Marshal St. André, three hundred gentlemen, and several thousand common soldiers, were taken; the defeat was irretrievably complete, and to the victors almost bloodless. The English did not share in the glory of the battle, for they were not present; but they arrived two days after to take part in the storming of St. Quentin, and to share, to their shame, in the sack and spoiling of the town. They gained no honour; but they were on the winning side. The victory was credited to the queen as a success, and was celebrated in London with processions, bonfires, and *Te Deums*.

Nor was the defeat at St. Quentin the only disaster which the French arms experienced. The Duke Henry sent in haste to Italy for the Duke of Guise, having failed in Italy, returned to France.

CH. 34. than that of the Constable. The Pope had received him on his arrival with enthusiasm, but the promised Papal contingent for the campaign had not been provided; the Pope was contented to be the soul of the enterprise of which France was to furnish the body. Guise advanced alone for the conquest of Naples, and he found himself, like De Lautrec in 1528, baffled by an enemy who would not meet him in the field, and obliged to waste his time and the health of his army in a series of unsuccessful sieges, till in a few months the climate had done Alva's work. The French troops perished in thousands, and Guise at last drew off his thinned ranks and fell back on Rome. Here the news of St. Quentin reached him, and the duke, leaving Paul to his fate, amid a storm of mutual reproaches, hurried back to his country.

September.
The Pope
yields to
Alva,
whom he
receives in
Rome, and
absolves.

The Pontiff had now no resource but to yield; and the piety of the Spaniards, whom he had compelled against their will to be his enemies, softened the ignominy of his compelled submission. Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Alva met at Cava, where, in a few words, it was agreed that his Holiness should relinquish his alliance with France, and cease to trouble the Colonnas. Alva, on his side, restored the Papal towns which he had taken; he went to Rome to ask pardon on his knees, in Philip's name, for the violence which he had used to his spiritual father; and the Pope gave him gracious absolution.

This bad business, which had tried Mary so severely, was thus well finished, and on the 6th of October, London was again illuminated for the

peace between the king and the Papacy. But the shadow which had been thrown on Pole was maliciously permitted to remain unremoved; on him, perhaps from personal ill-feeling, Paul visited his own disappointment. With the return of peace there was no longer any plausible reason for the recal of the legation; Peto was dead, having survived his unpropitious honours but a few months: yet, unmoved by Pole's entreaties, the Pope refused to permit him to resume his legatine functions, except so far as they were inherent in the archbishopric. The odious accusation of heresy was not withdrawn; and the torturing charge was left to embitter the peace of mind, and poison the last days of the most faithful servant of the Church who was then living.*

A.D. 1557.
October.
But he will
not be re-
conciled to
Pole, or re-
store his
commis-
sion.

And again, though there was peace with the Pope, there was still war with France; there was still war with Scotland. The events which had taken place in Scotland will be related hereafter.

The war
continues
with
France and
Scotland.

* Pole's sufferings in consequence were really piteous. 'Your Holiness,' he wrote on the 30th of March, 1558, 'is taking my life from me when you take from me the reputation of orthodoxy. You told the English ambassador it was God's doing; God has told you, like Abraham, to kill your son; and that your Holiness intends that kind of death for me, I know far more certainly than Isaac seemed to know his father's purpose. When I see the fire and the knife in the hands of your Holiness, and the wood laid upon my shoulders,

there is no need for me to ask where is the victim.

'When I was yet a lamb, I gave myself as a sacrifice to the Pontiff, who chose me for a cardinal. Thus I thought of myself; thus I spoke when I lay prostrate before the altar. Little did I then think the time would come, when I should be offered up by my father's hands a second time, especially when the Bishop of Rochester was here hanging as a ram among the briars ready to be immolated.' &c. — Pole to the Pope: *Epistola*, vol. v. p. 31.

CH. 34. It is enough for the present to say that the
 Scots had been true as usual to their old allies; no sooner was an English army landed in France, than a Scotch army was wasting and burning on the Border. A second force had to be raised and kept in the field to meet them, and the scantily supplied Treasury was soon empty.

A forced loan is raised to meet the expenses.

Parliament is again to meet.

Money had to be found somewhere. The harvest, happily, had been at last abundant, and wheat had fallen from 50 shillings a quarter to 4 or 5. The country was in a condition to lend, and a commission was sent out for a forced loan, calculated on the assessment of the last subsidy. Lists of the owners of property in each county were drawn out, with sums of money opposite to their names, and the collectors were directed 'to travail by all the best ways they might for obtaining the sums noted.' Persons found conformable were to receive acknowledgments. Should 'any be froward' they were to find securities to appear when called on before the Privy Council, or to be arrested on the spot and sent to London.* A hundred and ten thousand pounds were collected under the commission, in spite of outcry and resistance;† but it was not enough for the hungry consumption of the war, and the court was driven to call a parliament.

The writs went out at the beginning of December, accompanied with the usual circulars; to which the queen added a promise, that if the

* Commission for the Loan: *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. xi.

† *Ibid.* vol. xii.

mayors and sheriffs* would consult her wishes CH. 34.
she would remember their services. In a second —————
address she said her pleasure was that when the December
Privy Council, or any of them within their jurisdiction, should recommend 'men of learning and wisdom,' their directions should 'be regarded and followed.'† Yet there was not perhaps any wish to have the House of Commons unfairly packed. Mary desired, probably with sincerity, 'to have the assembly of the most chiefest men in the realm for advice and counsel.'

The sheriffs and mayors are admiringly mentioned to see to the return of competent persons.

How the parliament would have acted in the circumstances under which the meeting was anticipated, is very uncertain. The intense un-

* The Queen to all sheriffs, mayors, &c.—For the well choosing of the knights of the shire and burgesses:

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: and whereas, for certain great and weighty causes touching both the honour of Almighty God, and the wealth and good government of this our realm, we have summoned our High Court of Parliament, to be holden at Westminster, the 20th of January next: and forasmuch as we consider that a great part of the furthering of such things, as shall be treated in our said Parliament, and bringing them to good effect, shall consist in the well appointing and choosing of such as shall be knights of shires, citizens of any city, or burgesses of

other towns corporate, we havethought good to require you to havegood regard, and so far forth as in you may lie, to provide that such as shall be appointed may be men given to good order, Catholic, and discreet, and so qualified, as the antient law of this realm requireth; giving the freeholders, citizens, burgesses within our said county to understand, what our will and pleasure is in that behalf. Hereby as you shall do good service unto God and this your country, so shall you also do us right acceptable pleasure, which we shall consider towards you as any occasion may shew. Given under our signet, December 10, 1557.—MS. *Mary, Domestic*, vol. xii.

† MS. Ibid.

CH. 34. popularity of the war had been little relieved by the victory at St. Quentin, and the general state
 ▲ D. 1557.
 December. of suffering made a fresh demand for money infinitely grievous. But between the issue of the writs and the 20th of January a blow had fallen on England which left room for no other thought.

For the last ten years the French had kept their eyes on Calais. The recovery of Boulogne was an insufficient retaliation for the disgrace which they had suffered in the loss of it, while the ill success with which the English maintained themselves in their new conquest, suggested the hope, and proved the possibility, of expelling them from the old. The occupation of a French fortress by a foreign power was a perpetual insult to the national pride; it was a memorial of evil times;

The French again cast their eyes on Calais. while it gave England inconvenient authority in the 'narrow seas.' Scarcely a month had passed since Mary had been on the throne, without a hint from some quarter or other to the English Government to look well to Calais; and the recent plot for its surprise was but one of a series of schemes which had been successively formed and abandoned.

In 1541 the defences of Guisnes, Hammes, and Calais, had been repaired by Henry VIII. The dykes had been cleared and enlarged, the embankments strengthened, and the sluices put in order.* But in the wasteful times of Edward, the works had fallen again into ruin; and Mary, straitened

The defences of the Pale are out of repair.

* A complete account of the repairs at Calais, with the cost of work, and the wages of the workmen, is printed in an appendix to the *Chronicle of Calais*, published by the Camden Society.

by debt, by a diminished revenue, and a supposed obligation to make good the losses of the clergy, had found neither means nor leisure to attend to them.

In the year 1500, the cost of maintaining the three fortresses was something less than 10,000*l.* a-year;* and the expense had been almost or entirely supported by the revenue of the Pale. The more extended fortifications had necessitated an increase in the garrison; two thousand men were now scarcely sufficient to man the works;† while, owing to bad government, and the growing anomaly of the English position, the wealthier inhabitants had migrated over the frontiers, and left the Pale to a scanty, wretched, starving population, who could scarcely extract from the soil sufficient for their own subsistence.‡ While the cost of the occupation was becoming greater, the means of meeting it became less. The country could no longer thrive in English hands, and it was time for the invaders to begone.

The government in London, however, seemed, notwithstanding warnings, to be unable to con-

CH. 34.

A.D. 1557.
December.The ex-
pense in-
creases,And the
Pale is de-
serted by
its weak-
liest inha-
bitants.

* *Chronicle of Calais.*

† Lord Grey to the Queen, June 13, 1557: *Calais MSS.* bundle 10, State Paper Office.

‡ In 1550, Sir John Mason wrote to the council, 'I have heard say that, not long sythen the Low Countries were able to set to the field 300 able men on horseback; I think there lacketh of that number at this present a great many, the occasion where-

of, by the report of the king's ministers on this side, is for that the king's lands are so rased, as no man is able to live thereupon unless it is a sort of poor dryvells, that must dig their living with their nails out of the ground, and be not able scarce to maintain a jade to carry their corn to market.'—*French MSS.* Ed. VI. bundle 9.

CH. 34. ceive the loss of so old a possession to be a possibility; and Calais shared the persevering neglect to which the temporal interests of the realm were subjected. The near escape from the Dudley treason created a momentary improvement. The arrears of wages were paid up, and the garrison was increased. Yet a few months after, when war was on the point of being declared, there were but two hundred men in Guisnes, a number inadequate to defend even the castle; and although the French fleet at that time commanded the Channel, Calais contained provisions to last but for a few weeks.* Lord Grey, the governor of Guisnes, reported in June, after the declaration, that the French were collecting in strength in the neighbourhood, and that unless he was reinforced, he was at their mercy. A small detachment was sent over in consequence of Grey's letter; but on the

Sir Thomas Cornwallis warns the queen of the weakness of the garrison.

2nd of July Sir Thomas Cornwallis informed the queen that the numbers were still inadequate. 'The enemy,' Cornwallis said, 'perceiving our weakness, maketh daily attempts upon your subjects, who are much abashed to see the courage of your enemies, whom they are not able to hurt nor yet defend themselves.' He entreated that a larger force should be sent immediately, and maintained in the Pale during the war. The charge would be great, but the peril would be greater if the men were not provided; and as her Majesty had been pleased to

* *Calais MSS.*, bundle 10.

enter into the war, her honour must be more considered than her treasure.*

The arrival of the army under Pembroke removed the immediate ground for alarm; and after the defeat of the French, the danger was supposed to be over altogether. The queen was frightened at the expenses which she was incurring, and again allowed the establishment to sink below the legitimate level. Lord Wentworth was left at Calais with not more than five hundred men. Grey had something more than a thousand at Guisnes, but a part only were English; the rest were Burgundians and Spaniards. More unfortunately also, a proclamation had forbidden the export of corn in England, from which Calais had not been excepted. Guisnes and Hammes depended for their supplies on Calais, and by the middle of the winter there was an actual scarcity of food.†

Up to the middle of December, notwithstanding, there were no external symptoms to create uneasiness; military movements lay under the usual stagnation of winter, and except a few detachments on the frontiers of the Pale, who gave trouble by marauding excursions, the French

* Cornwallis to the Queen: *Calais MSS.* bundle 10.

† When all your Majesty's pieces on this side make account to be furnished of victuals and other necessaries from hence, it is so that of victuals your Highness hath presently none here, and the town hath none; by reason that the restraint in the realm

hath been so strait, and the victuallers as were wont to bring daily hither good quantities of butter, cheese, bacon, wheat, and other things, might not of late be suffered to have any recourse hither, whereby is grown a very great scarcity.—Wentworth to the Queen: *Calais MSS.*, bundle 10.

A.D. 1557.
December.

But, to
avoid the
expense,
the queen
does not in-
crease them
sufficiently.

CH. 34. appeared to be resting in profound repose. On
 A.D. 1557.
 Dec. 1.
 Grey re-
 ports a suc-
 cessful ex-
 pedition for
 the destruc-
 tion of a
 French de-
 tachment.

the 1st of December, the Governor of Guisnes reported an expedition for the destruction of one of their outlying parties, which had been accomplished with ominous cruelty.

'I advertised your Grace,' Lord Grey wrote to the queen, 'how I purposed to make a journey to a church called Bushing, strongly fortified by the enemy, much annoying this your Majesty's frontier. It may please your Majesty, upon Monday last, at nine of the clock at night, having with me Mr. Aucher marshal of Calais, Mr. Alexander captain of Newnham Bridge, Sir Henry Palmer, my son,* and my cousin Louis Dives, with such horsemen and footmen as could be conveniently spared abroad in service, leaving your Majesty's pieces in surety, I took my journey towards the said Bushing, and carried with me two cannon and a sacre, for that both the weather and the ways served well to the purpose, and next morning came thither before day. And having before our coming enclosed the said Bushing with two hundred footmen harquebuziers, I sent an officer to summon the same in the King's Highness, and your Majesty's name; whereunto the captain there, a man of good estimation, who the day before was sent there with twelve men by M. Senarpont, captain of Boulogne, answered that he was not minded to render, but would keep it with such men as he had, which were forty in number or thereabouts,

* Sir Arthur Grey.

even to the death; and further said, if their fortune was so to lose their lives, he knew that the king his master had more men alive to serve, with many other words of French bravery. Upon this answer, I caused the gunners to bring up their artillery to plank, and then shot off immediately ten or twelve times. But yet for all this they would not yield. At length, when the cannon had made an indifferent breach, the Frenchmen made signs to parley, and would gladly have rendered; but I again, weighing it not meet to abuse your Majesty's service therein, and having Sir H. Palmer there hurt, and some others of my men, refused to receive them, and, according to the law of arms, put as many of them to the sword as could be gotten at the entry of the breach, and all the rest were blown up with the steeple at the rasing thereof, and so all slain.*

CH. 34.
A.D. 1557.
December.

He takes a
small fort,
and puts
the gar-
rison to the
sword.

The law of arms forbade the defence of a fort not rationally defensible; but it was over hardly construed against a gallant gentleman. Grey was a fierce, stern man. It was Grey who hung the priests in Oxfordshire from their Church towers. It was Grey who led fiery charge upon the Scots at Musselburgh, and with a pike wound, which laid open cheek, tongue, and palate, he 'pursued out the chase,' till, choked by heat, dust, and his own blood, he was near falling under his horse's feet.†

* Grey to the Queen: *Calais MSS.*, bundle 10.

† He was held up by the Earl of Warwick, who sprang from his own horse, and 'did lift a firkin of ale' to Grey's mouth. *Life of Lord Grey of Wilton*, by his son.

CH. 34. Three weeks passed, and still the French had made no sign. On the 22nd an indistinct rumour came to Guisnes that danger was near. The frost had set in; the low damp ground was hard, the dykes were frozen; and in sending notice of the report to England, Grey said that Calais was unprovided with food; Guisnes contained a few droves of cattle brought in by forays over the frontier,* but no corn. On the 27th, the intelligence became more distinct and more alarming. The Duke of Guise was at Compiegne. A force of uncertain magnitude, but known to be large, had suddenly appeared at Abbeville. Something evidently was intended, and something on a scale which the English commanders felt ill prepared to encounter. In a hurried council of war held at Calais, it was resolved to make no attempt to meet the enemy in the field until the arrival of reinforcements, which were written for in pressing haste.†

But the foes with whom they had to deal knew their condition, and were as well aware as themselves that success depended on rapidity. Had the queen paid attention to Grey's despatch of the 22nd there was time to have trebled the garrison and thrown in supplies; but it was vague, and no notice was taken of it. The joint letter of Grey and Wentworth written on the 27th, was in London in two days, and there were ships at Portsmouth and in the Thames, which ought to have been ready

* Grey to the Queen: *Calais MSS.*, bundle 10.

† Wentworth and Grey to the Queen: *Ibid.*

A.D. 1557.
Dec. 22.
A vague
rumour of
alarm
reaches
Guisnes.

Dec. 27.
A French
force col-
lects in the
neighour-
hood. The
English
comman-
ders write
for assist-
ance.

for sea at a moment's warning. Orders were sent to prepare; the Earl of Rutland was commissioned to raise men; and the queen, though without sending men, sent a courier with encouragements and promises. But when every moment was precious, a fatal slowness, and more fatal irresolution hung about the movements of the government. On the 29th Wentworth wrote again, that the French were certainly arming and might be looked for immediately. On the 31st, the queen, deceived probably by some emissary of Guise, replied, that 'she had intelligence that no enterprise was intended against Calais or the Pale,' and that she had therefore countermanded the reinforcements.*

The letter containing the death sentence, for it was nothing less, of English rule in Calais was crossed on the way by another from Grey, in which he informed the queen that there were thirty or forty vessels in the harbour at Hambletue, two fitted as floating batteries, the rest loaded with hurdles, ladders, and other materials for a siege. Four-and-twenty thousand men were in the camp above Boulogne; and their mark he knew to be Calais. For himself, he would defend his charge to the death; but help must be sent instantly, or it would be too late to be of use.

The afternoon of the same day, December 31, he added, in a postscript, that flying companies of the French were at that moment before Guisnes; part of the garrison had been out to

A.D. 1557.
Dec. 29.
The queen
orders men
to be
raised.

Lord Went-
worth again
wrote for
help, but
the queen
counter-
mands the
musters,
believing
the alarm
ill founded.

* The Queen to Wentworth: *Calais MSS.* bundle 10.

CH. 34. skirmish, but had been driven in by numbers ;
 the whole country was alive with troops.

A.D. 1558.

Jan. I.

Calais is besieged.

The next morning Wentworth reported to the same purpose, that, on the land side, Calais was then invested. The sea was still open, and the forts at the mouth of the harbour on the Rysbank were yet in his hands. Heavy siege cannon, however, were said to be on their way from Boulogne, and it was uncertain how long he could hold them.

The defences of Calais towards the land, though in bad repair, had been laid out with the best engineering skill of the time. The country was intersected with deep muddy ditches; the roads were causeways, and at the bridges were bulwarks and cannon. Guisnes, which was three miles from Calais, was connected with it by a line of small forts and 'turnpikes.' Hammes lay between the two, equidistant from both. Towards the sea the long line of low sandhills, rising in front of the harbour to the Rysbank, formed a natural pier; and on the Rysbank was the castle, which commanded the entrance and the town. The possession of the Rysbank was the possession of Calais.

The approaches to the sandhills were commanded by a bulwark towards the south-west called the Sandgate, and further inland by a large work called Newnham Bridge. At this last place were sluices, through which, at high water, the sea could be let in over the marshes. If done effectually, the town could by this means be effectually protected ; but unfortunately,

owing to the bad condition of the banks, the sea CH. 34.
water leaked in from the high levels to the wells
and reservoirs in Calais. A.D. 1558.
Jan. 1.

The night of the 1st of January the French remained quiet; with the morning they advanced in force upon Newnham Bridge. An advanced party of English archers and musketeers who were outside the gate were driven in, and the enemy pushed in pursuit so close under the walls that the heavy guns could not be depressed to touch them. The English, however, bored holes through the gates with augers, fired their muskets through them, and so forced their assailants back. Towards Hammes and Guisnes the sea was let in, and the French, finding themselves up to their waists in water, and the tide still rising, retreated on that side also. Wentworth wrote in the afternoon in high spirits at the result of the first attack. The brewers were set to work to fill their vats with fresh water, that full advantage might be taken of the next tide. Working parties were sent to cut the sluices, and the English commander felt confident that if help was on the way, or could now be looked for, he could keep his charge secure. But the enemy, he said, were now thirty thousand strong; Guise had taken the Sandgate, and upwards of a hundred boats were passing backwards and forwards to Boulogne and Hambletue, bringing stores and ammunition.* If the queen had a body of men

* ‘Surely,’ Wentworth wrote to the queen, ‘if your Majesty’s ships had been on the shore, they might either have letted this voyage, or, at the least, very much hindered it, and not unlike

CH. 34.

A.D. 1558.

Jan. 3.
And Went-
worth
again im-
plores that
help may
be sent.The Rys-
bank is
taken.Grey writes
that if
Guisnes
and Calais
are to be
saved, an
army must
now be
sent.

in readiness, they should come without delay.

If she was unprepared, 'the passages should be thrown open,' and 'liberty be proclaimed for all men to come that would bring sufficient victuals for themselves;' thus, he 'was of opinion that there would be enough with more speed than would be made by order.'

So far Wentworth had written. While the pen was in his hand, a message reached him, that the French, without waiting for their guns, were streaming up over the Rysbank, and laying ladders against the walls of the fort. He had but time to close his letter, and send his swiftest boat out of the harbour with it, when the castle was won, and ingress and egress at an end. The same evening, the heavy guns came from Boulogne, and for two days and nights the town was fired upon incessantly from the sandbank, and from 'St. Peter's Heath.'

The fate of Calais was now a question of hours; Wentworth had but 500 men to repel an army, and he was without provisions. Calais was probably gone, but Guisnes might be saved; Guisnes could be relieved with a great effort out of the Netherlands. On the night of the 4th, Grey found means to send a letter

to have distressed them, being only small boats. Their ordnance that comes shall be conveyed in the same sort. It may therefore please your Majesty to consider it. I am, as a man may be, most sure that they will first attempt upon Rysbank, and that way chiefly assail the town.

Marry, I think that they lie hovering in the country for the coming of their great artillery, and also to be masters of the sea, and therefore I trust your Highness will haste over all things necessary with all expedition.—Wentworth to the Queen: *Calais MSS.*, bundle 10.

through the French lines to England. ‘The Ch. 34.
enemy,’ he said, ‘were now in possession of Calais harbour, and all the country between Calais and Guisnes.’ He was now ‘clean cut off from all relief and aid which he looked to have;’ and there ‘was no other way for the succour of Calais’ and the other fortresses, but ‘a power of men out of England or from the King’s Majesty, or from both,’ either to force the French into a battle or to raise the siege. Come what would, he would himself do the duty of a faithful subject, and keep the castle while man could hold it.*

The court, which had been incredulous of danger till it had appeared, was now paralysed by the greatness of it. Definite orders to collect troops were not issued till the 2nd of January. The Earl of Rutland galloped the same day to Dover, where the musters were to meet, flung himself into the first boat that he found, without waiting for them, and was half-way across the Channel when he was met by the news of the loss of the Rysbank.† Rutland therefore returned to Dover, happy so far to have escaped sharing the fate of Wentworth, which his single presence could not have averted. The next day, the 3rd, parties of men came in slowly from Kent and Sussex; but so vague had been the language of the pro-

A.D. 1558.
Jan. 3.

The English Government begin slowly to move. The musters come in unarmed.

* Grey to the Queen: *Calais MSS.* The letter was dated January 4, seven o'clock at night. The messenger was to carry it to Gravelines under cover of dark-

ness. It is endorsed, ‘Haste, haste, haste! Post haste for thy life, for thy life.’

† Rutland to the Queen: *Calais MSS.*

CH. 34. clamation, that they came without arms; and
 ————— A.D. 1558. although the country was at war with France,
 Jan. 4. there were no arms with which to provide them, either in Deal, Dover, or Sandwich. Again, so indistinct had been Rutland's orders, that although a few hundred men did come in at last tolerably well equipped, and the Prince of Savoy had collected some companies of Spaniards at Gravelines, and had sent word to Dover for the English to join him, Rutland was now obliged to refer to London for permission to go over. On the 7th, permission came; it was found by that time, or supposed to be found, that the queen's ships were

The queen's ships are found un-seaworthy. none of them seaworthy, and an order of council came out to press all competent merchant ships and all able seamen everywhere, for the queen's service.* Rutland contrived at last, by vigorous efforts, to collect a few hoyes and boats, but the French had by this time ships-of-war in co-operation with them, and he could but approach the French coast near enough to see that he could venture no nearer, and again to return.†

Jan. 7. He would have been too late to save Calais at that time, however, even if he had succeeded in crossing.

Jan. 6. The day preceding, the 6th of January, after a furious cannonade, Guise had stormed the castle. Calais is taken. The English had attempted to blow it up when they could not save it, but their powder train was wetted, and they failed. The Spaniards, for once

* *MS. Council Records.*

† *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. xi.

honourably careful of English interests, came along the shore from Gravelines alone, since no one joined them from England, and attempted in the face of overwhelming odds to force their way into the town : but they were driven back, and Wentworth, feeling that further resistance would lead to useless slaughter, demanded a parley, and after a short discussion accepted the terms of surrender offered by Guise. The garrison and the inhabitants of Calais, amounting in all, men, women, and children, to 5000 souls, were permitted to retire to England with their lives, and nothing more. Wentworth and fifty others were to remain prisoners ; the town, with all that it contained, was to be given up to the conquerors.

CH. 34.

A.D. 1558.

Jan. 6.

On these conditions the English laid down their arms and the French troops entered. The spoil was enormous, and the plunder of St. Quentin was not unjustly revenged ; jewels, plate, and money were deposited on the altars of the churches, and the inhabitants, carrying with them the clothes which they wore, were sent as homeless beggars in the ensuing week across the Channel.

Then only, when it was too late, the queen The queen is at length roused. roused herself. As soon as Calais had definitely fallen, all the English counties were called on by proclamation to contribute their musters. Then all was haste, eagerness, impetuosity ; those who had money were to provide for those who had none, till 'order could be taken.'

The mus-
ters all
over En-
gland are
called out,

The Vice-Admiral, Sir William Woodhouse, was directed to go instantly to sea, pressing everything

CH. 34. that would float, and promising indemnity to the owners in the queen's name. Thirty thousand men were rapidly on their way to the coast : the weather had all along been clear and frosty, with calms and light east winds, and the sea off Dover was swiftly covered with a miscellaneous crowd of vessels.

A.D. 1558.
Jan. 7.
And ordered to march to Dover, where the fleet is waiting for them.

On the 10th came the queen's command for the army to cross to Dunkirk, join the Duke of Savoy, and save Guisnes.

Jan. 10. But the opportunity which had been long offered, and long neglected, was now altogether gone ; the ships were ready, troops came, and arms came, but a change of weather came also, and westerly gales and storms. On the night of the 10th a gale blew up from the south-west which raged for four days : such vessels as could face the sea, slipped their moorings, and made their way into the Thames with loss of spars and rigging ; the hulls of the rest strewed Dover beach with wrecks, or were swallowed in the quicksands of the Goodwin.

The weather changes, and the fleet is destroyed or dispersed.

The queen desponds, and sends the muster home.

The effect of this last misfortune on the queen was to produce utter prostration. Storms may rise, vessels may be wrecked, and excellent enterprises may suffer hindrance, by the common laws or common chances of things ; but the queen in every large occurrence imagined a miracle ; Heaven she believed was against her. Though Guisnes was yet standing, she ordered Woodhouse to collect the ships again in the Thames, 'forasmuch as the principal cause of their sending forth had ceased ;'*

* The Queen to Sir William Woodhouse, January 12 : *MS. Mary, Domestic, vol. xii.*

and on the 13th, she counter-ordered the musters, CH. 34.
and sent home all the troops which had arrived
at Dover.*

A.D. 1558.
Jan. 10.

Having given way to despondency, the court should have communicated with Grey, and directed him to make terms for himself and the garrisons of Guisnes and Hammes. In the latter place there was but a small detachment; but at Guisnes were eleven hundred men, who might lose their lives in a desperate and now useless defence. The disaster, however, had taken away the power of thinking or resolving upon anything.

It must be said for Philip that he recognised more clearly and discharged more faithfully the duty of an English sovereign than the queen or the queen's advisers. Spanish and Burgundian troops were called under arms as fast as possible; and when he heard of the gale he sent ships from Antwerp and Dunkirk to bring across the English army. But when his transports arrived at Dover they found the men all gone. Proclamations went out on the 17th to call them back;† but two days after there was a counter panic and a dread of invasion, and the perplexed levies were again told that they must remain at home. So it went on to the end of the month; the resolution of one day alternated with the hesitation of the next, and nothing was done.

The queen's government had lost their heads. Philip having done his own part, did not feel it

* Circular for Staying of the Musters: *MS. Mary. Domestic*, vol. xii.

† *Ibid.* January 17.

CH. 34.

A.D. 1558.
January.
Guianes is
left to its
fate.

incumbent on him to risk a battle with inferior numbers, when those who were more nearly concerned were contented to be supine. Guisnes, therefore, and its defenders, were left to their fate.

Jan. 17.
It is at-
tacked by
the Duke of
Guisne.

On Thursday, the 13th, the Duke of Guise appeared before the gates. The garrison could have been starved out in a month, but Guise gave England credit for energy, and would not run the risk of a blockade. To reduce the extent of his lines, Grey abandoned the town, burnt the houses, and withdrew into the castle. The French made their approaches in form. On the morning of Monday the 17th they opened fire from two heavily armed batteries, and by the middle of the day they had silenced the English guns, and made a breach which they thought practicable. A storming party made an attempt: after sharp fighting the advanced columns had to retreat; but as they drew back the batteries reopened, and so effectively, that the coming on of night alone saved the English from being driven at once, and on the spot, from their defences. The walls were of the old sort, constructed when the art of gunnery was in its infancy, and crumbled to ruins before the heavy cannon which had come lately into use.

After a
bombard-
ment of
three days,

Under shelter of the darkness earthworks were thrown up, which proved a better protection; but the French on their side planted other batteries, and all Tuesday and Wednesday the terrible bombardment was continued. The old walls were swept away; the ditch was choked with the rubbish, and was but a foot in depth; the

French trenches had been advanced close to its edge, and on Wednesday afternoon, twelve companies of Gascons and Swiss again dashed at the breaches. The Gascons were the first; the Swiss followed 'with a stately leisure;' and a hand to hand fight began all along the English works. The guns from a single tower which had been left standing causing loss to the assailants, it was destroyed by the batteries. The fight continued till night, when darkness as before put an end to it.

CH. 34.
A.D. 1558.
Jan. 19.

The French
troops at-
tempt a
storm.

The earthworks could be again repaired, but the powder began to fail, and this loss was irreparable. Lord Grey, going his rounds in the dark, trod upon a sword point, and was wounded in the foot. The daylight brought the enemy again, who now succeeded in making themselves masters of the outer line of defence. Grey, crippled as he was, when he saw his men give way, sprung to the top of the rampart, 'wishing God that some shot would take him.' A soldier caught him by the scarf and pulled him down, and all that was left of the garrison fell back, carrying their commander with them into the keep. The gate was rammed close, but Guise could now finish his work at his leisure, and had the English at his mercy. He sent a trumpeter in the evening to propose a parley, and the soldiers insisted that if reasonable terms could be had, they should be accepted. The extremity of the position was obvious, and Grey, as we have seen, was no stranger to the law of arms in such cases. Hostages were exchanged, and the next

Lord Grey
is wounded,
and the
English are
driven into
the citadel.

Jan. 20.

Guise offers
terms,

CH. 34. morning the two commanders met in the French camp.

A.D. 1558.

Jan. 20.

Better terms were offered by Guise than had been granted to Calais—Grey, Sir Henry Palmer, and a few officers should consider themselves prisoners; the rest of the garrison might depart with their arms, and ‘every man a crown in his purse.’ Grey, however, demanded that they should march out with their colours flying; Guise refused, and after an hour’s discussion they separated without a conclusion.

But the soldiers were insensible to nice distinctions; if they had the reality, they were not particular about the form. Grey lectured them on the duties of honour; for his part, he said, he would rather die under the red cross than lose it.

Which the
soldiers
compel
Lord Grey
to accept. The soldiers replied that their case was desperate; they would not be thrust into butchery or sell their lives for vain glory. The dispute was at its height when the Swiss troops began to lay ladders to the walls; the English refused to strike another blow; and Grey, on his own rule, would have deserved to be executed had he persisted longer.

The En-
glish march
out, and
their last
hold on
French soil
is lost. Guise’s terms were accepted. He had lived to repay England for his spear wound at Boulogne, and the last remnant of the conquests of the Plantagenets was gone.

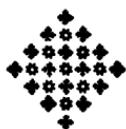
Measured by substantial value, the loss of Calais was a gain. English princes were never again to lay claim to the crown of France, and the possession of a fortress on French soil was a perpetual irritation. But Calais was called the

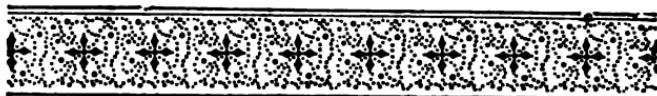
‘brightest jewel in the English crown.’ A jewel CH. 34.
it was, useless, costly, but dearly prized. Over ^{A.D. 1558.}
^{Jan. 20.} the gate of Calais had once stood the insolent
inscription:—

‘Then shall the Frenchmen Calais win,
When iron and lead like cork shall swim;’

and the Frenchmen had won it, won it in fair
and gallant fight.

If Spain should rise suddenly into her ancient
strength and tear Gibraltar from us, our mortifi-
cation would be faint, compared to the anguish
of humiliated pride with which the loss of Calais
distracted the subjects of Queen Mary.





CHAPTER XXXV.

DEATH OF MARY.

CH. 35.

A.D. 1558.
Jan. 20.

THE queen would probably have found the parliament which met on the 20th of January little better disposed towards her than its predecessor. The subsidy which should have paid the crown debts had gone as the opposition had foretold, and the country had been dragged after all into the war so long dreaded and so much deprecated. The forced loan of 100,000*l.* had followed, and money was again wanted.

But ordinary occasions of discontent disappeared in the enormous misfortune of the loss of Calais; or rather, the loss of Calais had so humbled the nation in its own eyes, that it expected to be overrun with French armies in the approaching summer. The Church had thriven under Mary's munificence, but every other interest had been recklessly sacrificed. The fortresses were without arms, the ships were unfit

Parliament undertakes to provide for the national safety.

for service, the coast was defenceless. The parliament postponed their complaints till the national safety had been provided for.

On the 26th, a committee, composed of thirty members of both Houses, met to consider the

crisis.* ‘That no way or policy should be undevised or not thought upon,’ they divided themselves into three sub-committees; and after three days’ separate consultation the thirty met again, and agreed to recommend the heaviest subsidy which had been ever granted to an English sovereign, equivalent in modern computation to an income-tax of 20 per cent. for two years. If levied fairly such a tax would have yielded a large return. Michele, the Venetian, says that many London merchants were worth as much as 60,000*l.* in money; the graziers and the merchants had made fortunes while the people had starved. But either from hatred of the government, or else from meanness of disposition, the money-making classes generally could not be expected to communicate the extent of their possessions. The landowners, truly or falsely, declared that, ‘for the most part, they received no more rent than they were wont to receive,’ ‘yet, paying for everything, they provided thrice as much by reason of the baseness of the money.’† It was calculated that the annual proceeds of the subsidy would be no more than 140,000*l.*;‡ and even this the House of Commons declared that the country would not bear for more than one year. They did not choose perhaps to leave the

A.D. 1558.
January.
A committee of the
two
Houses re-
commend a
large sub-
sidy.

* *Commons Journals.*

† Ibid. The famous graziers and other people, how well willing soever they be taken to be, will not be known of their wealth, and by discontentment of their loss, be grown

stubborn and liberal of talk.—The Council to Philip: *Cotton. MSS. Titus*, B. 2.
‡ Estimate of the Money to be provided for the Furniture and Charges of the War: *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. xii.

CH. 35.

A.D. 1558.
January.
The Com-
mons cut
down the
recom-
mendation of
the com-
mittee,

Promising
to give
more, if ne-
cessary,
another
year.

February.

Philip pro-
poses to
take the
field to
recover
Calais.

The En-
glish coun-
cil, con-
sidering the
state of
public feel-
ing and the
cost of the
campaign,
will not
consent.

queen at liberty to abuse their confidence by giving her the full grant to squander on the clergy. They were unanimous that the country must and should be defended. They admitted that the sum which they were ready to vote would fall short of the indispensable outlay; nevertheless, when the report of the committee was laid before them they cut it down to half. They agreed to give four shillings in the pound for one year, and to pay it all at Midsummer. 'They entreated her Majesty to stay the demanding of more' until another session of parliament. Should circumstances then require it, they promised that they would add whatever might be necessary; but, for the present, 'if any invasion should be in the realm, or if the enemy should seek to annoy them at home, they would have to employ themselves with all their powers, which would not be without their great charges.'*

The resolution of parliament decided the council in the course which they must pursue with respect to Calais. Philip, unable to prevent the catastrophe alone, proposed to take the field at once with a united army of English and Spaniards, to avenge it, and effect a recapture. He laid his plans before the council. The council, in reply, thanked his Majesty for his good affection towards the realm; they would have accepted his offer on their knees had it been possible, but the state of England obliged them to decline. The enemy, after the time which had

* Discourse on the Order that was used in Granting of the Subsidy: *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. xii.

been allowed them, ‘would be in such strength CH. 35.
that it was doubtful if by force alone they could —————
be expelled.’ If England sent out an army,
A.D. 1558.
February.
it could not send less than twenty thousand
men; and the troops would go unwillingly upon
a service for which they had no heart, at a time
of year when they were unused to exposure.
Before the year was out 150,000*l.* at the lowest
would have to be spent in keeping the musters
of the country under arms. The navy and the
defences of the coast and of the isles, would cost
200,000*l.*, without including the losses of cannon
and military stores at Guisnes and Calais, which
would have to be made good. The campaign
which Philip proposed could not cost less than
a further 170,000*l.*; and so much money could
not be had ‘without the people should have
strange impositions set upon them, which they
would not bear.’ There was but ‘a wan hope of
recovering Calais,’ and ‘inconveniences might
follow’ if the attempt was made and failed.*

‘The people have only in their heads,’ the
council added, ‘the defence of the realm by land
and sea.’ The hated connexion with Spain had
produced all the evils which the opponents of the
marriage had foretold, and no good was expected
from any enterprise pursued in common with
Philip. Prone as the English were to explain
events by supernatural causes, they saw, like the
queen, in the misfortunes which had haunted her,
an evidence that Heaven was not on her side, and

The people
care only to
defend the
country.

* The Council to Philip: *Cotton. MSS. Titus, B. 2.*

CH. 35. they despaired of success in anything until it
 could be undertaken under better auspices. They
 A.D. 1558.
 February. would take care of themselves at home, and they
 would do no more. In reducing the subsidy,
 the Commons promised to defend the country
 'with the residue of their goods and life,' to 'pro-
 vide every man armour and weapons according
 to his ability,' and to insist by a special law that
 it should be done.*

The coun-
try is
called on to
arm.

Every peer, knight, or gentleman, with an
 income above 1000*l.* a-year, was called on to
 furnish sixteen horses, with steel harness, forty
 corslets, coats of mail, and morions, thirty long-
 bows, with sheaves of arrows, and as many steel
 caps, halberds, blackbills, and hauebutts. All
 English subjects, in a descending scale, were
 required to arm others or arm themselves accord-
 ing to their property.†

In the levies of the past summer, men had
 shrunk from service, and muster-masters, after
 the fashion of Falstaff, had taken bribes to ex-
 cuse them. On the present occasion no excuse

Every able-
bodied
man, be-
tween 16
and 60, is
ordered to
hold him-
self in rea-
diness.

was to be taken, and every able-bodied man, of
 any rank, from sixteen to sixty, was to be ready
 to take arms when called upon, and join his
 officers, under pain of death.‡ With these
 essential orders, the business of the legislature
 ended, and parliament was prorogued on the 7th
 of March till the following November.

The chief immediate difficulty was to find

* *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. xii.*

† 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, statute 2. ‡ *Ibid.* statute 3.

money for present necessities. The loan was gone. The subsidy would not come in for six months. Englefield, Waldegrave, Petre, Baker, and Sir Walter Mildmay, were formed into a permanent committee of ways and means, with instructions to sit daily 'till some device had been arrived at.* Sir Thomas Gresham was sent again to Antwerp to borrow 200,000*l.*, if possible, at fourteen per cent.† The queen applied in person for a loan to the citizens of London. For security, she offered to bind the crown lands, 'so assuredly as they themselves could cause to be devised';‡ and she promised, further, that, if she could legally do it, she would dispense in their favour with the statute for the limitation of usury.

To this last appeal the corporation responded with a loan of 20,000*l.*, at twelve per cent.; the Merchant Adventurers contributed 18,000*l.* more; and Gresham sent from Flanders from time to time whatever he could obtain. In this way dockyards and armouries were set in activity, and the castles on the coast were repaired.

Yet with the masses the work of arming went forward languidly. The nation was heavy at heart, and it was in vain that the noblemen and gentlemen endeavoured to raise men's spirits;

* *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. xii. | not yet found any complete account on which I can rely. It

† *Flanders MSS. Mary*. The aggregate of the debts to the Flanders Jews, which Elizabeth inherited, cannot be prudently guessed at; and I have | cost her, however, fifteen years of economy to pay them off.

‡ Queen Mary to the Aldermen of the City of London: *MS. Ibid.*

CH. 35. the black incubus of the priesthood sate upon them like a nightmare. The burnings had been
 A.D. 1558.
 March. suspended while parliament was in session. On The perse-
 cution con-
 tinues, and Pole issues a fresh
 commis-
 sion.

the 28th of March the work began again, and Cuthbert Simson, the minister of a Protestant congregation, was put to death in Smithfield, having been first racked to extort from him the names of his supporters;* on the same day Reginald Pole, to clear himself of the charge of heresy, sent a fresh commission to Harpsfeld, to purge the diocese of Canterbury;† and the people, sick to their very souls at the abominable spectacles which were thrust before them, sank into a sullen despondency.

The musters for Derbyshire were set down at fifteen hundred. Lord Shrewsbury raised four hundred from among his own dependents on his estates. The magistrates declared that, owing to death, want, and waste of means in the war of the last year, the 'poor little county' could provide but one hundred more.

The musters break up or mutiny.

The exiles in Germany invite the people to rebellion.

The musters in Devonshire broke up and went to their homes. The musters in Lincolnshire mutinied. The ringleaders in both counties were immediately hanged;‡ yet the loyalty was none the greater. The exiled divines in Germany, believing that the people were at last ripe for insurrection, called on them to rise and put down the tyranny which was crushing them. Goodman published a tract on the obedience of

* FOXE: BURNET.

† STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. vi. p. 120.

‡ *Privy Council Register, MS. Mary.*

subjects, and John Knox blew his 'First Blast CH. 35.
against the Monstrous Regimen of Women.' A.D. 1558.
April.

The queen, as if the ordinary laws of the country had no existence, sent out a proclamation that any one who was found to have these books in his or her possession, or who, finding such books, did not instantly burn them, should be executed as a rebel by martial law.* 'Affectionate as I be to my country and countrymen,' said Sir Thomas Smith, 'I was ashamed of both; they went about their matters as men amazed, that wist not where to begin or end. And what marvel was it? Here was nothing but firing, heading, hanging, quartering, and burning, taxing and levying. A few priests in white rochets ruled all, who with setting up of six-foot roods and rebuilding of roodlofts, thought to make all sure.'

June.

With the summer, fever and ague set in like The season becomes deadly.
a pestilence. 'God did so punish the realm,' said Sir Thomas Smith again, 'with quartan agues, and with such other long and new sicknesses, that in the last two years of the reign of Queen Mary, so many of her subjects was made away, what with the execution of sword and fire, what by sicknesses, that the third part of the men of England were consumed.'† In the spring, the queen, misled by the same symptoms which had deceived her before, had again fancied herself *enceinte*. She made her will in

July.

April.

* Royal Proclamation, June 6, 1558: STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. vi.; FOXE, vol. xiii.

| † Oration on the Queen's Marriage: STRYPE'S *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*.

CH. 35. the avowed expectation that she was about to undergo the perils of childbearing. She wrote for her husband to come to her. She sent the fleet into the Channel, and laid relays of horses along the roads to London from Dover and from Harwich, that he might choose at which port to land.

A.D. 1558.
July.
The queen
declares
herself
again with
child, and
Philip
affects to
congratu-
late her.

Philip so far humoured the fancy, which he must have known to be delusive, that he sent the Count de Feria to congratulate her. Her letter, he said, contained the best news which he had heard since the loss of Calais. But the bubble broke soon. Mary had parted from her husband on the 5th of the preceding July, and her suspense, therefore, was not long protracted. It is scarcely necessary to say in what direction her second disappointment vented itself.

She finds
herself dis-
appointed,
and the
persecution
becomes
more and
more cruel.

Cranmer alone hitherto had suffered after recantation; to others, pardon had continued to be offered to the last moment. But this poor mercy was now extinguished. A man in Hampshire, named Bembridge, exclaimed at the point of execution that he would submit; a form was produced on the spot, which Bembridge signed, and the sheriff, Sir Richard Pexall, reprieved him by his own authority. But a letter of council came instantly to Pexall, that 'the Queen's Majesty could not but find it very strange' that he had saved from punishment a man condemned for heresy: the execution was to proceed out of hand; and 'if the prisoner continued in the Catholic faith, as he pretended,' 'some discreet and learned man might be present with him in his death, for the

aiding of him to die God's servant.* Bembridge CH. 35.
was accordingly burnt, and the sheriff, for the lenity A.D. 1558.
which he had dared to show, was committed to the June.
Fleet. Whole detachments of men and women
were again slaughtered in London; and the queen,
exasperated at the determination with which the
populace cheered the sufferers with their sym-
pathy, sent out a proclamation forbidding her The queen
subjects to approach, touch, speak to, or comfort threatens
heretics on their way to execution, under pain of those who
death. Shortly after, a congregation of Protestants encourage
were detected at a prayer-meeting in a field near heretics
the city; thirteen were taken as prisoners before with death.
Bonner, and seven were burnt at Smithfield to-
gether on the 28th of June. The people replied Seven men
to the queen's menaces by crowding about the and women
stake with passionate demonstrations of affection, are burnt at
and Thomas Bentham, a friend of Lever the Smithfield,
preacher, when the faggots were lighted, stood
out in the presence of the throng, and cried:

'We know that they are the people of God,
and therefore we cannot choose but wish well to
them and say, God strengthen them. God Al-
mighty, for Christ's sake, strengthen them.'

The multitude shouted, in reply, 'Amen.
Amen.'†

Alarmed himself, this time, at the display of emotion, Bonner durst not outrage the metropolis with the deaths of the remaining six. Yet, not And six at
Brentford
to let them escape him, he tried them privately at night.

* *Privy Council Register, MS.*

† Bentham to Lever: STYYPE's *Memorials*, vol. vi.

CH. 35. in his own house at Fulham, and burnt them at Brentford at night in the darkness.*

A.D. 1558.
July.

A fleet is
collected at
Portsmouth.

So fared the Protestants, murdered to propitiate Providence, and, if possible, extort for the queen a return of the divine favour. The alarm of invasion diminished as summer advanced. England had again a fleet upon the seas which feared no enemy, and could even act on the offensive. In May, two hundred and forty ships, large and small, were collected at Portsmouth;† and on the day of the burning at Brentford, accident gave a small squadron among them a share in a considerable victory.

M. de
Thermes
and the
garrison of
Calais take
and sack
Dunkirk.

Battle of
Gravelines,
and defeat
of the
French.

Lord Clinton, who was now admiral in the place of Howard, after an ineffectual cruise in the south of the Channel, returned to Portsmouth on the 8th of July. A few vessels remained in the neighbourhood of Calais, when M. de Thermes, whom the Duke of Guise left in command there, with the garrison of Boulogne, some levies collected in Picardy, and his own troops, in all about 9000 men, ventured an inroad into the Low Countries, took Dunkirk, and plundered it. Not caring to penetrate further, he was retreating with his booty, when Count Egmont, with a few thousand Burgundians and Flemings, cut in at Gravelines between the French and their own frontiers. They had no means of passing, except at low water, between the town of Gravelines and the

* 'This fact,' says Foxe, 'pur-chased him more hatred than any that he had done of the common people.'

† Swift to the Earl of Shrews-bury: LODGE'S *Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 367.

sea, and the English ships, which were in communication with Egmont, stood in as near as they could venture, so as to command the sands. CH. 35.
A.D. 1558. July.

De Thermes, obliged to advance when the tide would permit him, dashed at the dangerous passage; the guns of Gravelines on one side, the guns of the English vessels on the other, tore his ranks to pieces, and Egmont charging when their confusion was at its worst, the French were almost annihilated. Five thousand were killed, De Thermes himself, Senarpont of Boulogne, the Governor of Picardy, and many other men of note, were taken. If Clinton had been at hand with the strength of the fleet, and a dash had been made at Calais by land and sea, it would have been recovered more easily than it had been lost. But fortune had no such favour to bestow on Queen Mary. Clinton was still loitering at Spithead, and when news of the action came it was too late.

The plan of the naval campaign for the season was to attack Brest with the united strength of England and Flanders, and hold it as a security for the restoration of Calais at the peace. It was for the arrival of his allies that Clinton had been waiting, and it was only at the end of the month that the combined fleet, a hundred and forty sail, left Portsmouth for the coast of Brittany. They appeared duly off Brest; yet, when their object was before them, they changed their minds on the feasibility of their enterprise; and leaving their original design, they landed a force at Conquêt, which they plundered and burnt, and afterwards

The united
fleets of
England
and the
Low Coun-
tries pro-
pose to
attack
Brest.

CH. 35. destroyed some other villages in the neighbourhood.

A.D. 1558.

July.
Instead of
which they
burn a few
villages,
and return
having ac-
complished
nothing.

August 24.

Four or five hundred Flemings who ventured too far from the fleet were cut off; and as the Duke d'Estampes was said to be coming up with 20,000 men, Clinton re-embarked his men in haste, returned to Portsmouth, after an ineffectual and merely mischievous demonstration, and then reported the sickness in the fleet so considerable, that the operations for the season must be considered at an end.*

Philip and
Henry be-
gin to
understand
that the
war may
come to an
end be-
tween
them.

In the meantime, the contending princes in their own persons, Philip with the powers of the Low Countries and Spain, Henry with the whole available strength of France, sate watching each other in entrenched camps upon the Somme. The French king, with the recollection of St. Quentin fresh upon him, would not risk a second such defeat. Philip would not hazard his late advantage by forcing an action which might lose for him all that he had gained. In the pause, the conviction came slowly over both, that there was no need for further bloodshed, and that the long, weary, profitless war might at last have an end. A mighty revolution had passed over Europe since Francis first led an army over the Alps. The world had passed into a new era; and the question of strength had to be tried, not any more between Spaniard and Frenchman, but between Protestant and Catholic. Already the disciples of Calvin threatened the Church of France; Hol-

* *MS. Mary, Domestic*, vol. xiii.

land was vexing the superstition of Philip, and CH. 35.
the Protestants in Scotland were breaking from
the hand of Mary of Guise: more and more the
Catholic princes felt the want of a general coun-
cil, that the questions of the day might be taken
hold of firmly, and the Inquisition be set to work
on some resolute principle of concert.

A.D. 1558.
August.

In September, the Emperor passed away in his Sept. 21.
retirement at St. Just. With him perished the Charles V.
traditions and passions of which he was the last
representative, and a new page was turning in
the history of mankind. Essential ground of
quarrel between Henry and Philip there was
none; the outward accidental ground—the claims
on Milan and Naples, Savoy and Navarre—had
been rendered easy of settlement by the conquest
of Calais, and by the marriage which was con-
summated a few weeks after Guise's victory, be-
tween the Dauphin and the Queen of Scots.

Satisfied with the triumph of a policy which had annexed the crown of Scotland to France, and with having driven the English by main strength from their last foothold on French soil, Henry could now be content to evacuate Savoy and Piedmont, if Philip, on his side, would repeat the desertion of Crêpy, and having brought England into the war, would leave her to endure her own September.
losses, or avenge them by her single strength. An armis-
tice is agreed
With this secret meaning on the part of France, upon, and
an overture for a peace was commenced in the
autumn of 1558, through the mediation of the
Duchess of Lorraine. An armistice was agreed
upon, and the first Conference was held at the
terms of
a peace.

CH. 35. abbey of Cercamp, where Arundel, Wotton, and
 A.D. 1558. Thirlby attended as the representatives of
 September. England.

Philip is invited to make his own terms, at the expense of England;

How far Philip would consent to an arrangement so perfidious towards the country of which he was the nominal sovereign, depended, first, on the life of the queen. The titular King of England could by no fiction or pretext relieve himself of the duties which the designation imposed upon him; and if the English were deserted their resentment would explode in a revolution of which Mary would be the instant victim.*

Mary, indeed, would soon cease to be a difficulty. She was attacked in September by the fever which was carrying off so many of her subjects. The fresh disease aggravated her constitutional disorder, and her days were drawing fast to their end. But Philip's hold on England need not perish with the death of his wife, if he could persuade her sister to take her place. His policy, therefore, was for the present to linger out the negotiations; to identify in appearance his own and the English interests, and to wait the events of the winter.

Which he will not do while he can hope to win Elizabeth.

At the opening of the Conference it was immediately evident that France would not part with Calais. The English commissioners had been ordered to take no part in the discussion, unless the restitution was agreed on as a preliminary; and when they made their demand, Henry re-

* Renard found it necessary to warn Philip of this, in a despatch written in October: *Granvelle Papers*, vol. v. p. 225.

plied that 'he would hazard his crown rather than forego his conquest.'* The resolution was expressed decisively; and they saw, or thought they saw, so much indifference in the Spanish representatives, that they at first intended to return to England on the spot.

'To our minds,' they wrote, 'Calais is so necessary to be had again for the quieting of the world's mind in England, and it should so much offend and exasperate England, if any peace was made without restitution of it, that, for our part, no earthly private commodity nor profit could induce us thereto, nor nothing could be more grievous to us than to be ministers therein.'†

They were on the point of departure, when a letter from Philip required them to remain at their posts. Contrary to their expectation, the king promised to support England in insisting on the restoration, and his own commissioners were instructed equally to agree to nothing unless it was conceded.‡ Thus for a time the negotiation remained suspended till events should clear up the course which the different parties would follow.

And these events, or the one great event, was now close, and the shadows were drawing down over the life of the unfortunate Mary. Amidst discontent and misery at home, disgrace and failure abroad, the fantastic comparisons, the delirious

A.D. 1558.
October.
The French
declare that
they will
not part
with Calais.

England
will not
make peace
without it;
and Philip
promises to
support the
English
demand.

* Arundel, Thirlby, and Wotton to the Council: *French MSS.*, bundle 13.

† Ibid.

‡ Philip to the English Ambassador, October 30: *French MSS.*, bundle 13.

CH. 35. analogies, the child which was to be born of the
 A.D. 1558. Virgin Mary for the salvation of mankind—where
 October. were now these visionary and humiliating dreams?

Three men and two women are burnt at Canterbury, being the last to suffer.

men and two women suffered at Canterbury. They were the last who were put to death, and had been presented by Pole in person to be visited ‘with condign punishment.’* On the 5th, parliament met, and the promised second subsidy was demanded, but the session was too brief for a resolution. The queen’s life, at the time of the opening, was a question perhaps of hours, at most of days; and aware of what was impending, Philip despatched the Count de Feria to her with a desire that she should offer no objections to the succession of Elizabeth.

Philip sends the Count de Feria to England, to smooth the accession of Elizabeth.

The count reached London on the 9th of November. He was admitted to an interview, and the queen, too brave to repine at what was now inevitable, and anxious to the last to please her husband, declared herself ‘well content’ that it should be as he wished ; she entreated only that her debts might be paid, and that ‘religion’ should not be changed.

Leaving Mary’s deathbed, De Feria informed the council of the king’s request, and from the council hastened to the house of Lord Clinton, a few miles from London, where Elizabeth was staying. In Philip’s name, he informed her that

* ‘Condigna animadversione plectendos.’—WILKINS’s *Concilia*, vol. iv.

her succession was assured; his master had used
his influence in her favour, and no opposition
need be anticipated.

CH. 35.
A.D. 1558.
November.

Elizabeth listened graciously. That Philip's services to her, however, had been so considerable as de Feria told her, she was unable to allow. She admitted, and admitted thankfully, the good offices which he had shown to her when she was at Woodstock. She was perhaps ignorant that it was for the safety of Philip's life that her own had been so nearly sacrificed; that Philip's interest in her succession had commenced only when his own appeared impossible. But she knew how narrow had been her escape; she had neither forgotten her danger, nor ceased to resent her treatment. It was to the people of England, she told the count, that she owed her real gratitude. The people had saved her from destruction; the people had prevented her sister from changing the settlement of the crown. She would be the people's queen, and she would reign in the people's interest.

De Feria feared, from what she said, that 'in religion she would not go right.' The ladies by whom she was surrounded were suspected; Sir William Cecil, whose conformity was as transparent then as it is now, would be her principal secretary; and the count observed, with a foreboding of evil, that 'she had an admiration for the king her father's mode of ruling;' and that of the legate she spoke with cold severity.*

* Report of the Count de Feria: TYTLER, vol. ii. p. 494.
Memorial of the Duchess of Feria, MS. quoted by Lingard.

CH. 35. It is possible that Pole was made acquainted
 A.D. 1558. with Elizabeth's feelings towards him. To himself personally, those feelings were of little moment, for he, too, like the queen, was dying—
 November. dying to be spared a second exile, and the wretchedness of seeing with his eyes the dissolution of the phantom fabric which he had given the labours of his life to build.

Pole, as well as the queen, is dying.

Yet what he did not live to behold he could not have failed to anticipate. The spirit of Henry VIII. was rising from the grave to scatter his work to all the winds; while he, the champion of Heaven, the destroyer of heresy, was lying himself under a charge of the same crime, with the Pope for his accuser. Without straining too far the licence of imagination, we may believe that the disease which was destroying him was chiefly a broken heart. But it was painful to him to lie under the ill opinion of the person who was so soon to be on the throne of England; and possibly he wished to leave her, as a legacy, the warning entreaties of a dying man.

Three days after De Feria's visit, therefore, He writes a last letter, and sends a message to Elizabeth. Pole sent the Dean of Worcester to Elizabeth with a message, the import of which is unknown; and a short letter, as the dean's credentials, saying only that the legate desired, before he should depart, to leave all persons satisfied of him, and especially her Grace.*

* Cotton. *MS. Vespasian,* F. 3. The letter is written in a shaking hand. The address is lost, and being dated the 14th of November, while Mary was still alive, it has been described as to her and not to her sister. But an endorsement 'From the

This was the 14th of November. The same day, or the day after, a lady-in-waiting carried the queen's last wishes to her successor. They were the same which she had already mentioned to De Feria—that her debts should be paid, and that the Catholic religion might be maintained, with an additional request that her servants should be properly cared for.* Then, taking leave of a world in which she had played so ill a part, she prepared, with quiet piety, for the end. On the 16th, at midnight, she received the last rites of the Church. Towards morning, as she was sinking, mass was said at her bedside. At the elevation of the Host, unable to speak or move, she fixed her eyes upon the body of her Lord; and as the last words of the benediction were uttered, her head sunk, and she was gone.

A.D. 1558.
November.
Mary sends
her last
wishes to
her sister,

Receives
the sacra-
ment, and
dies.

A few hours later, at Lambeth, Pole followed her, and the reign of the Pope in England, and the reign of terror, closed together.

Nov. 17.
Pole dies,
and all is
over.

No English sovereign ever ascended the throne with larger popularity than Mary Tudor. The country was eager to atone to her for her mother's injuries; and the instinctive loyalty of the English towards their natural sovereign was enhanced by the abortive efforts of Northumberland to rob her of her inheritance. She had reigned little

Queen's Majesty at Hatfield,' leaves no doubt to whom it was written.

* Among the apocryphal or vaguely attested anecdotes of the end of Mary, she is reported to have said, that if her body

was opened, Calais would be found written on her heart. The story is not particularly characteristic, but having come somehow into existence, there is no reason why it should not continue to be believed.

CH. 35. more than five years, and she descended into the grave amidst curses deeper than the acclamations which had welcomed her accession. In that brief time she had swathed her name in the horrid epithet which will cling to it for ever; and yet from the passions which in general tempt sovereigns into crime, she was entirely free; to the time of her accession she had lived a blameless, and, in many respects, a noble life; and few men or women have lived less capable of doing knowingly a wrong thing.

A.D. 1558.
November.

Philip's conduct, which could not extinguish her passion for him, and the collapse of the inflated imaginations which had surrounded her supposed pregnancy, it can hardly be doubted, affected her sanity. Those forlorn hours when she would sit on the ground with her knees drawn to her face; those restless days and nights when, like a ghost, she would wander about the palace galleries, rousing herself only to write tear-blotted letters to her husband; those bursts of fury over the libels dropped in her way; or the marchings in procession behind the Host in the London streets—these are all symptoms of hysterical derangement, and leave little room, as we think of her, for other feelings than pity. But if Mary was insane, the madness was of a kind which placed her absolutely under her spiritual directors; and the responsibility for her cruelties, if responsibility be anything but a name, rests first with Gardiner, who commenced them, and, secondly, and in a higher degree, with Reginald Pole. Because Pole, with the council, once interfered to

prevent an imprudent massacre in Smithfield; CH. 35. because, being legate, he left the common duties A.D. 1558.
November. of his diocese to subordinates; he is not to be held innocent of atrocities which could neither have been commenced nor continued without his sanction; and he was notoriously the one person in the council whom the queen absolutely trusted. The revenge of the clergy for their past humiliations, and the too natural tendency of an oppressed party to abuse suddenly recovered power, combined to originate the Marian persecution. The rebellions and massacres, the political scandals, the universal suffering throughout the country during Edward's minority, had created a general bitterness in all classes against the Reformers; the Catholics could appeal with justice to the apparent consequences of heretical opinions; and when the Reforming preachers themselves denounced so loudly the irreligion which had attended their success, there was little wonder that the world took them at their word, and was ready to permit the use of strong suppressive measures to keep down the unruly tendencies of uncontrolled fanatics.

But neither these nor any other feelings of English growth, could have produced the scenes which have stamped this unhappy reign with a character so frightful. The parliament which re-enacted the Lollard statutes, had refused to restore the Six Articles as being too severe; yet under the Six Articles twenty-one persons only suffered in six years; while, perhaps, not twice as many more had been executed under the earlier acts in

Ch. 35. the century and a half in which they had stood
on the Statute roll. The harshness of the law
<sup>A.D. 1558.
November.</sup> confined the action of it to men who were definitely dangerous; and when the bishops' powers were given back to them, there was little anticipation of the manner in which those powers would be misused.

And that except from some special influences they would not have been thus misused, the local character of the persecution may be taken to prove.. The storm was violent only in London, in Essex which was in the diocese of London, and in Canterbury. It raged long after the death of Gardiner; and Gardiner, though he made the beginning, ceased after the first few months to take further part in it. The Bishop of Winchester would have had a persecution, and a keen one; but the fervour of others left his lagging zeal far behind. For the first and last time the true Ultramontane spirit was dominant in England; the genuine conviction that, as the orthodox prophets and sovereigns of Israel slew the worshippers of Baal, so were Catholic rulers called upon, as their first duty, to extirpate heretics as the enemies of God and man.

The language of the legate to the City of London shows the devout sincerity with which he held that opinion himself. Through him, and sustained by his authority, the queen held it; and by these two the ecclesiastical government of England was conducted.

Archbishop Parker, who knew Pole and Pole's doings well, called him *Carnifex et flagellum Ec-*

clesiae Anglicanae, the hangman and the scourge CH. 35.
of the Church of England. His character was ^{A.D. 1558.} November.
irreproachable; in all the virtues of the Catholic Church he walked without spot or stain; and the system to which he had surrendered himself had left to him of the common selfishnesses of mankind his enormous vanity alone. But that system had extinguished also in him the human instincts, the genial emotions by which theological theories stand especially in need to be corrected. He belonged to a class of persons at all times numerous, in whom enthusiasm takes the place of understanding; who are men of an ‘idea;’ and unable to accept human things as they are, are passionate loyalists, passionate churchmen, passionate revolutionists, as the accidents of their age may determine. Happily for the welfare of mankind, persons so constituted rarely arrive at power: should power come to them, they use it, as Pole used it, to defeat the ends which are nearest to their hearts.

The teachers who finally converted the English nation to Protestantism were not the declaimers from the pulpit, nor the voluminous controversialists with the pen. These, indeed, could produce arguments which, to those who were already convinced, seemed as if they ought to produce conviction; but conviction did not follow till the fruits of the doctrine bore witness to the spirit from which it came. The evangelical teachers, caring only to be allowed to develope their own opinions, and persecute their opponents, had walked hand in hand with men who had

CH. 35. spared neither tomb nor altar, who had stripped
 A.D. 1558.
 November. the lead from the church roofs, and stolen the
 bells from the church towers; and between them
 they had so outraged such plain honest minds as
 remained in England, that had Mary been content
 with mild repression, had she left the Pope to
 those who loved him, and had married, instead
 of Philip, some English lord, the mass would
 have retained its place, the clergy in moderate
 form would have resumed their old authority, and
 the Reformation would have waited for a century.
 In an evil hour, the queen listened to the unwise
 advisers, who told her that moderation in re-
 ligion was the sin of the Laodiceans; and while
 the fanatics who had brought scandal on the
 Reforming cause, either truckled, like Shaxton,
 or stole abroad to wrangle over surplices and forms
 of prayer, the true and the good atoned with
 their lives for the crimes of others, and vindicated
 a noble cause by nobly dying for it.

And while among the Reformers that which
 was most bright and excellent shone out with
 preternatural lustre, so were the Catholics per-
 mitted to exhibit also the preternatural features
 of the creed which was expiring.

Although Pole and Mary could have laid their
 hands on earl and baron, knight and gentleman,
 whose heresy was notorious, although, in the
 queen's own guard, there were many who never
 listened to a mass,* they durst not strike where
 there was danger that they would be struck in

* UNDERHILL'S *Narrative.*

return. They went out into the highways and hedges; they gathered up the lame, the halt, and the blind; they took the weaver from his loom, the carpenter from his workshop, the husbandman from his plough; they laid hands on maidens and boys ‘who had never heard of any other religion than that which they were called on to abjure;’* old men tottering into the grave, and children whose lips could but just lisp the articles of their creed; and of these they made their burnt-offerings; with these they crowded their prisons, and when filth and famine killed them, they flung them out to rot. How long England would have endured the repetition of the horrid spectacles is hard to say. The persecution lasted three years, and in that time something less than 300 persons were burnt at the stake.† ‘By imprisonment,’ said Lord Burleigh, ‘by torment, by famine, by fire, almost the number of 400 were,’ in their various ways, ‘lamentably destroyed.’

Yet, as I have already said, interference was impossible except by armed force. The country knew from the first that by the course of nature the period of cruelty must be a brief one; it knew that a successful rebellion is at best a calamity; and the bravest and wisest men would not injure an illustrious cause by conduct less than worthy of it, so long as endurance was possible. They had saved Elizabeth’s life and Elizabeth’s

CH. 35.
A.D. 1558.
November.

* BURLEIGH’S *Execution of Justice*.

† The number is variously computed at 270, 280, and 290.

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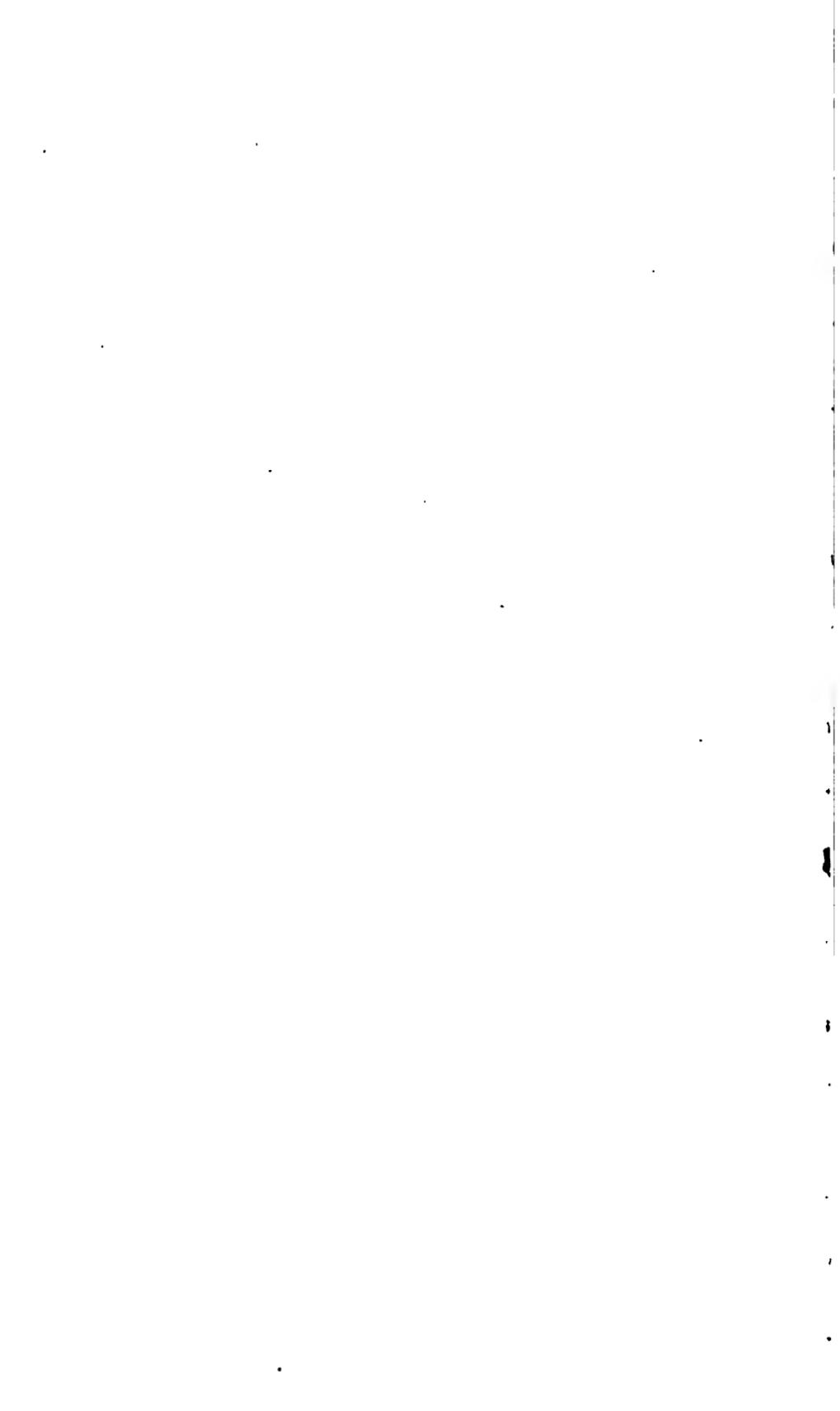
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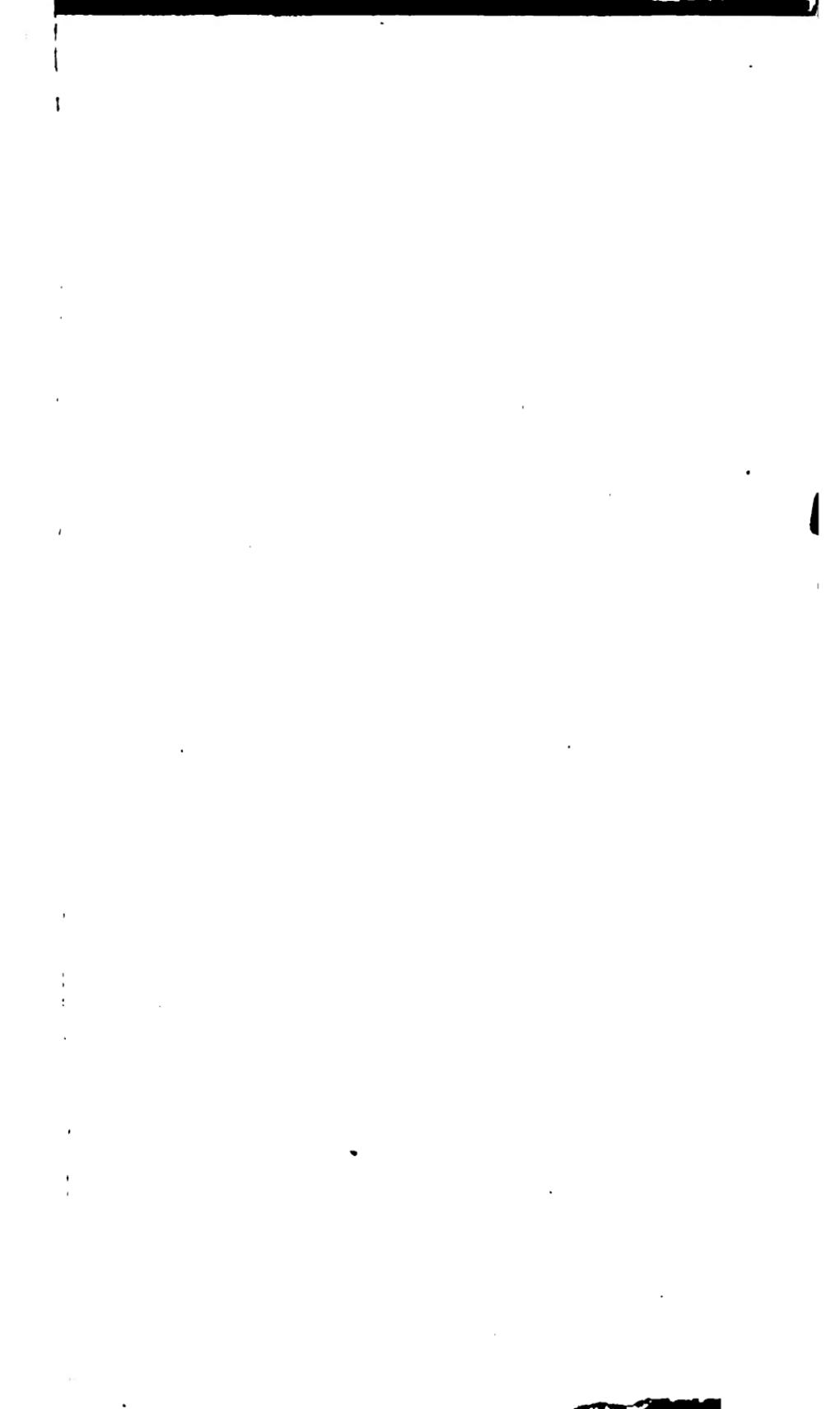
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